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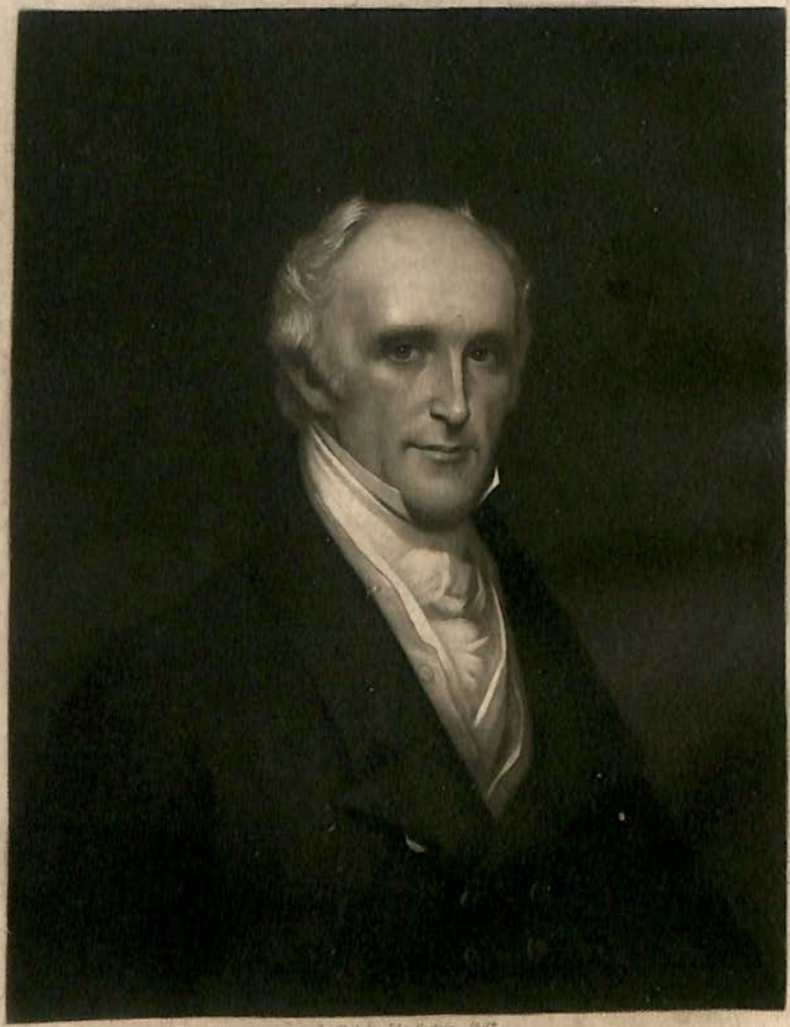

On Steel by John Sartain Phila.

Richard Rush.

FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED IN LONDON WHILE
ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE BRITISH COURT

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OCCASIONAL PRODUCTIONS,

POLITICAL,

DIPLOMATIC, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

INCLUDING, AMONG OTHERS,

A GLANCE AT

THE COURT AND GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

AND

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848,

WHILE THE AUTHOR RESIDED AS ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE UNITED STATES AT PARIS.

BY THE LATE

RICHARD RUSH.

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EDITED BY HIS EXECUTORS.

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INTRODUCTION.

In publishing the volume announced in the title page, the Author's Executors desire to explain its nature. Throughout a long life the pursuits of Mr. Rush were devoted almost exclusively to public affairs. The official despatches which record his negotiations and other duties, performed abroad whilst Minister Plenipotentiary to England in early life, for upwards of seven years; and subsequently to France, for a shorter though memorable term, at a more advanced period; his reports to Congress while Secretary of the Treasury; and his opinions while Attorney-General of the United States; which latter post he held during the war of 1812, and until the close of the Administration of President Madison; are on the archives of the Government, as part of our public history in those spheres, while he held the above situations.

Mr. Rush's pen was used upon many important public questions, otherwise than officially; before, during, and after the War of 1812; and after returning from his foreign employments. The pieces he wrote appeared largely in the journals of the day, sometimes on calls upon him from his own State, and from other and distant parts of the Union, and sometimes voluntarily. Many of these political papers, as they appeared from time to time, when great home or foreign questions absorbed the public mind, attracted the thoughtful portion of his countrymen; and it might not be thought inappro-

priate to give to such a place in this volume. But he lived long enough to see and remark how many discussions of this sort, supposed to have been of importance, under the excitements and exaggerations of the hour, had passed away and been forgotten. Influenced by this sentiment, he found agreeable occupation during the last few years of his life, in uniting with the pursuits which his library afforded, the review of his correspondence, and of papers, political, diplomatic, and social, which had largely accumulated during his long public career, and while in retirement. And as he reviewed, he destroyed, much the larger part of his manuscripts. A few there were of general interest, which he preserved; some, published at different periods of his life and subsequently revised; some, printed for private circulation among friends; and some which have not appeared before. A portion of these he committed to the discretion of his Executors, for posthumous publication; and of such this volume is composed. They will here be touched upon a little more in detail, for the reader's information.

The first is an article which aims to give a slight view of, and some reflections upon, "Washington in Domestic Life," as suggested to the writer by a few of his familiar and unpublished letters while President, and afterwards from Mount Vernon, to his private Secretary, Colonel Lear, put into the writer's possession by his venerable widow. A few copies were first published in 1857, and largely from considerations connected with the wishes of Mrs. Lear, expressed during her life. Since the first appearance of the article, much has been given to the public from various sources on the same subject. But it is a subject from its permanent interest not soon to tire; and this brief "synopsis" from Mr. Rush's pen, prompted originally by his desire to do what he thought would be agreeable to Mrs. Lear, is based upon authentic materials, and is perhaps worth preserving. The original

"Introductory Explanation" to the article, which has been retained, states in a few words its origin. Its object was, to speak of Washington *at home*, and thus to deduce from the "small facts which drop familiarly from these private letters," whether they touch upon his household economy, his friends, kindred or servants, reflections upon his domestic character, in proof of its comprehensiveness and richness.

The article as now presented to the public was revised by the Author; some emendations added, and three letters and a short note (believed to be now for the first time published) given in full. Nearly all these letters being entirely domestic and private, obvious reasons suggested themselves why the portraiture of domestic life they reflect, should be looked at in the mode adopted, rather than by the republication of the whole of each letter, written, as each was, without any reserve, or perhaps the thought that it would ever be seen again. The approbation of this guarded course which reached Mr. Rush, on the first appearance of the article, from more than one eminent source, confirmed his own judgment on that point. He spoke of it as a "literary trifle," and dedicated it, "though hardly worth a dedication," to an intimate friend, between whom and himself existed an uninterrupted friendship of sixty years;* one, let it be added, whose genius, and knowledge and eloquence, were early and long conspicuous in the councils of his country, and whose private virtues endear him to the wide circle in which he has been so long known and honored.

The two narratives at the end of the article, as it first appeared, are also retained. The first is from the Diary of Col. Lear, kept by him at Mount Vernon in 1786. It records an account of Arnold's treason, given by Washington at his own dinner-table at Mount Vernon, and in

* Mr. Ingersoll.

his own words, which, although familiar to us in history, remarks Mr. Rush, seems to acquire new interest from his lips. The other is a narrative, also by Colonel Lear, of Washington's remarkable conduct and language, on hearing of the defeat of General St. Clair, commissioned by him while President, to command the military expedition of 1791, for the defence of the Northwestern frontier of the United States, which had suffered severely under Indian depredation. It is believed that these two narratives were first given to the public in this article. The latter has been quoted in full by Mr. Irving.*

The next article, "Washington, Lafayette, and Mr. Bradford, a Sketch in part from Memory," first appeared in 1846. In addition to some interesting personal allusions to Washington while President, and residing in Philadelphia, it calls up a domestic scene in his private residence, when the fate of La Fayette, then a prisoner in the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, was a topic in the evening's conversation; Mr. Bradford—his attorney-general of the United States—being present, besides the family circle.† Under the circumstances narrated, this scene may now possess interest for some readers.

Mr. Calhoun, late Vice-President of the United States, filled so large a space in the public eye as an American Statesman of the highest order, that the notice of his character which appears in these pages, may not be unacceptable, coming as it does from one who, entering into public life at about the same time, knew him long

* Irving's Life of Washington, 5th vol. pp. 107, 8, 9.

† A close relationship and intimacy existed, through Mrs. Bradford, between the families of Mr. Bradford and Dr. Rush, which points to the source of this narrative. It has, since its first appearance, been quoted in the "Republican Court," a work published in New York some years ago, and by Mr. Lossing, in his very interesting "Mount Vernon and its Associations." The "Lament" is given in each.

and well. Mr. Calhoun was Secretary of War in President Monroe's Cabinet, while Mr. Rush occupied the English Mission. Although on the return of the latter from England to a post in the Cabinet of President Adams, party organization separated them as public men, he always appreciated very highly Mr. Calhoun's elevated patriotism and rare abilities; and, while not sympathizing with some of the political opinions of his later years, offered, on the occasion of his death, this tribute to his memory. It was published in 1850, and favorably received by his countrymen, more especially in South Carolina. Some corrections and modifications will be found in it, as it now appears.

While the Author's executors have been careful, under the discretion confided to them, to withhold from this volume every thing of a party nature, they feel that they may, nevertheless, insert two productions, even though they should seem at first to partake somewhat of that character. In 1850, a crisis overtook the Union. At that time arose one of those agitations, founded in permanent causes, growing out of the existence of African slavery in the Southern portion of the Confederacy, which led to the Compromise Act, passed by Congress in that year. The Union was believed to be in danger, and its friends, in each of the two great parties in the country, united their efforts to ward it off. Mr. Rush's opinions were sought and freely expressed. On one of these occasions he addressed a careful letter to a large body of his fellow-citizens, his friends and neighbors, who had requested his presence at a political celebration, and took various views of the question of African slavery, as existing in the United States, and as bearing on the Union; especially of the "international phase of the question, which has worked itself into our feelings, helping to hurry us into rash extremes of opinion and conduct;" and warns against the influence of such extremes upon the stability of the Union, saying, that the

great "Compromise Act" must henceforth be followed up by mutual concession and forbearance; above all, by the faithful performance of constitutional obligations. Our Union was otherwise gone. It was not "good speaking, good writing, or an array of the advantages of the Union, however powerfully put forth," that would be likely to save it much longer. It must be "by deeds, to be done and abided by."

A meeting of the friends of the Constitution and Union, irrespective of party, was soon afterwards held in Philadelphia. It was a great assemblage, such as every crisis calls forth in this country, when any great national question arises. Mr. Rush was called for; and his observations on that occasion are given in this volume. He notices many of the historical incidents connected with the formation of the Constitution, with the remark that the "Declaration of Independence, bold, deliberate, inevitable, as it was, only threw into being the disjointed parts of a great nation; it was the Constitution which cemented them together; and urges, that if all which it had already achieved was not enough to rouse the country to its support, the great name of Washington, who adopted it, with its full sanction of the rights of the South, should in itself be enough." He closed with a spirited account of the "Federal procession" in '88, which the speaker witnessed as a boy, and with a patriotic appeal for the Union. These two short articles—with no pretension to elaborate discussion—are placed in this collection, as expressing, in general terms, the steady convictions of the Author on the great questions to which they refer.

Next in order are two Letters to William Henry Trescot, of South Carolina, on "diplomatic and other subjects." Persons who saw these letters in manuscript when first written in 1851, thought that they would be read with interest by more than could have an opportunity of seeing them in that form. A few copies were therefore printed for private distribution among friends.

Although Mr. Trescot had no agency in their publication, the hope was indulged and expressed by Mr. Rush that he would not object to it; the less, as his own excellent production to which they referred, was in print.* The same hope has led to their insertion in this volume.

The first touches the general question of the foreign policy of the United States, as applied to diplomatic concert between this Government and that of Great Britain,—a policy which the "similarity of national attributes between the United States and Great Britain," seems to point out as wise for both countries, but upon which the Author doubts the disposition of a majority of his countrymen to look favorably. He refers, as explanatory in part of this unfavorable disposition, to the "political habit" in the United States of regarding England with distrust, and of looking to France, rather than England, for any transatlantic connection; and examines the cause of this distrust. He alludes to the continued watchfulness of England, of the progress of the age, and to the fallacious opinions entertained among the American people in reference to other Governments. These are among the topics of the letter, which concludes with a reference to the "Monroe declaration," as the first attempt in American diplomacy towards concerted movement with Great Britain.

The second letter refers to the "three periods" marked out by Mr. Trescott in his proposed review of diplomatic history. The third period—from the peace of Paris in 1763 to the present time—the Author thinks the most important and stirring; remarking "that it comprises startling revolutions among nations; the most formidable operations of war, with results the most momentous by land and sea; and the most wide-sweeping transactions in diplomacy of the last century, and the early

* "A Few Thoughts on the Foreign Policy of the United States," by William H. Trescot, 1849.

part of the one in which we live." The letter recalls the place which the United States must hold in diplomatic history at that period; refers to the early and lofty aims of her diplomacy, and, in striking ways, to points of international law, for which, as a neutral power, during the European wars of the latter end of the last, and beginning of the present century, the United States earnestly contended in their diplomatic negotiations; with references to their achievements upon the ocean in vindication of neutral rights during the war of 1812. Mr. Rush was a member of President Madison's Cabinet while those splendid achievements were in progress, and was transferred to the English Mission very soon after that war, when their renown was resounding throughout the world. After the lapse of nearly forty years, he writes about them with a fervor and patriotism they were naturally calculated to awaken.

The Character of Mr. Canning was written while Mr. Rush was Secretary of the Treasury, and a member of the Cabinet of President Adams. It appeared in 1827, in the National Intelligencer at Washington, a day or two after the news of Mr. Canning's death reached the United States. From the tone of its composition, and acquaintance shown with British statesmen and British and European policy, it was ascribed to the accomplished and powerful pen of the President, himself the immediate predecessor of Mr. Rush at the English court. It was extensively republished and circulated in England, and advantageously quoted in the House of Lords. Mr. Rush had been thrown into much intercourse with that great English statesman during his mission, and was prompted to offer this American tribute to his departed genius and public services to his country. It was republished in pamphlet form, and much called for. After thirty-four years, this article, with corrections by the writer, is here offered to the public, in this more authentic, and it is hoped more durable, form.

A public, though not official, Letter from Paris, in 1848, containing all the parts material to its object, will be found in these pages. It is addressed to Benjamin F. Hallett, of Boston, in reply to a letter written by Mr. Hallett, as Chairman of a Committee of the National Convention of the Democratic Party, to Mr. Rush, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, enclosing to him resolutions of congratulation from the Convention to be presented to the French Republic. Mr. Rush declined to present them; thus attesting his repudiation of all party, while representing his whole country in the diplomatic service, and in his letter to Mr. Hallett, briefly explains the part he acted, as the representative of the United States, when the revolutionary storm swept away the throne of Louis Philippe, and set up a republic for France in its place. Neither while Minister to England or France did he ever allow himself to act as a party man; a principle which, it is one of the objects of his letter to show, should govern the public conduct of the diplomatic representative.

Two Essays, published more than half a century ago in the "Port Folio," then a well-known periodical in Philadelphia, are inserted, as intended to show the writer's early appreciation of intellectual ambition, and the laborious industry indispensable to accomplish its objects. They were written when Mr. Rush was about twenty-three years of age, and was a close reader and admirer of Dr. Johnson's works, as is apparent from the style of these youthful essays. In more mature life, he thought this style not the best model, however potent in the hands of Dr. Johnson.

Following these essays, are three Letters addressed to Mrs. Rush, from London, in 1837. Precedents exist, without stint, for the posthumous publication of family letters of public men. Unexpectedly invited by General Jackson, while President of the United States, to go to England in 1836, to recover from the Court of Chan-

cery the Smithsonian legacy to the United States, a duty he performed successfully, and towards his success in which President Jackson supposed his previous official residence in that country, might open facilities, he went, unattended by his family, a youthful son excepted. Away for two years, his home correspondence from a country where himself and family had resided so long, was among his agreeable occupations. From very many of his letters, written at that time, these three have been taken, one describing a visit to Grove Park, the seat of the Earl of Clarendon; the second, a Christmas visit to Hagley, the seat of Lord Lyttelton; and the third, on Queen Victoria's ascent to the throne. The two first give some view of rural hospitalities in England in the winter. The scenes are presented with the familiarity of such a correspondence, blended with recollections, naturally called up, of former days in that country. Passages being omitted not necessary to be printed, the publication of these letters, after the interval that has elapsed, as in part illustrative of English social life in his day—a day now verging on the historical—may, perhaps, be acceptable to some readers; as also the description, in the third letter, of the forms observed when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Mr. Rush was ever very guarded in touching with his pen upon the scenes and topics of private society. Thoroughly American in heart, he appreciated, nevertheless, the influence upon some of her individual and national characteristics, of the social system of England, of which he was a close and thoughtful observer. Hence, he has occasionally devoted his pen to it, as it came under his eye in private life; but always with strict restraint.

A letter to the Secretary of State—then Mr. Marcy, the head of President Pierce's Cabinet—and never yet published, on the construction of the Fishery Article in our Convention with Great Britain of 1818, is included in this posthumous volume. It was written in 1853, on

an official call from the Secretary of State; and Mr. Rush left a direction in his will, that this letter, with that of Mr. Marcy to him, which drew it forth, should be published, with a letter from himself to his executors, giving the reasons for the publication.

"High names, in the Senate and elsewhere," remarks Mr. Rush, "have so well defended our construction, that it might seem unnecessary for me to bring before the public the views presented in this letter to the Secretary of State, were they not derived from facts intrinsic to the negotiation itself. In directing its publication by my executors, I aim at rendering justice to revered names in our history, whose humble associate I was in this portion of our public affairs. I aim at showing that this solemn international compact, made under their instructions, and receiving their sanction, did not give up American fishing rights of long existence and great magnitude; but, on the contrary, secured them with the greatest care. In here vindicating their memories against imputed errors or oversights in a matter so grave, and in desiring that the vindication should become known to their country, I trench upon no sense of propriety. As an official document, upon an international subject, no secrecy belonged to this letter, written on a public call upon me by the Government, other than exemption from premature publicity."

At the time of Mr. Marcy's call upon Mr. Rush, he was the sole survivor of the negotiators of that Convention, and of all others officially connected with it. He was of opinion that the "Reciprocity Treaty" of the 5th of June, 1854, had only for the time being put at rest this question of the Fisheries. At its expiration the question will no doubt again be open in all its fulness and importance to American interests. When that time comes, the record here presented of its early history, and the undoubted evidence thus furnished, that the "*extent*" of the fishing grounds was well considered by

the negotiators of the Convention of 1818, may perhaps aid in the consideration of this subject. The reader will no doubt be impressed with the fact, as stated by the author, that during the seven years of his residence at the English Court as Minister, after the signature and ratification of that Convention, no complaint was hinted at by the British Government that the American fishermen had resorted to their old fishing grounds in the large gulfs and bays upon the colonial coast of British America. Equally may it strike attention that when Mr. Rush, towards the end of his Mission, in 1824, was engaged in an extensive negotiation, while Mr. Canning was Secretary for Foreign Affairs—a minister especially watchful of British interests—and during the progress of which negotiation our entire intercourse by sea and land with the British North American Colonies was brought under consideration, no allusion was made to any misconstruction by the American Government of the Fishery Article. Mr. Rush was very strong in his convictions that the American construction of the Convention was entirely acceptable to the British Government "*at the time of its adoption;*" and that although the Treaty was sharply assailed by journals of prominence in London, the British Cabinet "knew their position, and were prepared for its responsibilities." They paid respect to the convictions of the American Government that American rights, established by the Treaty of 1783, were not lost by the War of 1812, and consented to their re-affirmance in the Convention of 1818. The author does not pass by, in his review of this important subject, the remarkable fact that the Attorney-General and Advocate-General of England gave an opinion to Lord Palmerston, "*twenty-two* years after the date of the Convention," based upon words which are *not used in it*, and of which they "assumed the existence." And he touches with reluctance upon the letter of Mr. Webster while Secretary of State,

written in July, 1852, in which the latter speaks of "an oversight in the Convention of 1818," in making concessions to England of American rights in the "inlets" and "recesses of the ocean," against which Mr. Rush endeavors to show that the American negotiators most carefully guarded. When Mr. Webster's letter appeared, Mr. Rush was strongly urged to give to the public his views on this subject, the rather as Mr. Webster referred to the opinion of the English Crown Lawyers, from which he dissented without noticing the grave error referred to. He declined to publish anything at the time; and while this posthumous publication of the letter to Mr. Marcy explains itself, as to the public principles discussed, it is hoped that the allusion to Mr. Webster is in such a spirit as to be free from exception on the part of any of the friends of that great statesman.

The volume closes with some account of Mr. Rush's Mission to France. This is the longest and most recent article in the collection. Mr. Rush was very unexpectedly called upon by his Government to assume the duties of that Mission, in March 1847, and arrived in Paris in July, a few days after the fêtes in commemoration of the Revolution of 1830. He presented his credentials on the 31st of July, 1847, at the Palace of Neuilly, to Louis Philippe, the citizen king; and his letter of recall, on the 8th of October, 1849, at the Palace de l'Elysée Bourbon, to Louis Napoleon, the Republican President.

In this "Glance" at the Court of the former and the Revolution which followed, Mr. Rush has given a narrative of some of the more important political, diplomatic, and social incidents of his Mission, with such reflections from time to time as the particular subject suggested. As Minister of the United States, he was received by Louis Philippe in a spirit which bespoke in the King the most friendly feelings towards the United States, commencing with the day of his presentation,

when he was requested by His Majesty to return to dinner, and was invited to a conversation with him in the gardens of Neuilly in the "long twilight of a summer evening," to his last conversation in the Tuileries, two days before he became an exile. On the first named day, the then Monarch of France called up with interest his personal recollections of the United States. On subsequent occasions, his conversations with Mr. Rush upon public topics, and especially his expression of confidence, two days before his abdication, that "order would be maintained," and that the "Government was under no apprehension," may now perhaps strike the reader's attention. So also may the author's allusion to the popular element, occasionally showing itself in the palace under the Monarchy, when large parties from the provinces, and working men from Paris, in blouses, were seen in the gilded rooms, silently looking at the pictures, or wandering about the gardens, and all appearing "trained to decorum."

As a "looker on," and taking sides with neither party, the author's observations and reflections upon the state of parties and the nation at the close of the year 1847, may aid the inquiry, whether the condition of things which preceded the Revolution of 1848, foreshadowed in any way that great event. But it is apparent that, whatever the organic defects of the King's Government, and the doubts and distrust of that part of the nation which accepted it as a political necessity, he is among those who thought it had accomplished much for the power and prosperity of France.

From the Monarchy, these pages pass to the Revolution of February, 1848. Unable to receive instructions from his Government, Mr. Rush acted promptly without them at this crisis. On the 26th of February the Provisional Government was proclaimed; on the 27th, Mr. Lamartine, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave official notice of the fact to the Foreign Ambassadors and

Ministers; and on the 28th of February, Mr. Rush, as American Minister, formally acknowledged the French Republic, and offered to it the congratulations of the Republic of the United States. The assurance of this sentiment was received by the Provisional Government with lively satisfaction. The narrative of these events is consecutively given, and the public and diplomatic considerations which prompted the step are succinctly stated. The President of the United States made this official act of our Minister the subject of a special and approving message to Congress. Mr. Rush was accredited to the Provisional Government, and subsequently presented to the Executive Committee the joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, conveying the congratulations of Congress to the people of France. The American Minister was the first diplomatic representative in Paris to take this course; a fact which appears not to have been lost sight of by the new Government during the remainder of his stay in Paris. His opinions and suggestions during the formation of the new Constitution were unofficially sought and given; he steadily urged, whenever opportunity presented itself, the necessity of two legislative chambers; and, when the Constitution was finally adopted, was unable to "yield an assent to any encouraging prospect of its durability," from the absence of the double chamber, and the existence of other anomalies, as viewed by an American.

The author remarks that it is no part of his purpose to write a full history of the Revolution. He has preferred to present its leading features. As a part of the history of this important epoch, he gives a careful review of the course of the Provisional Government, after recording its surrender of power to the new National Assembly; enumerating some of its acts, "elementary and beneficent," and remarking that, "from its incon-

gruous composition, the wonder is that it held together until the National Assembly met." Looking to its foreign policy, the author observes that it is to be remembered with approbation, as it kept the peace of Europe, when the "Revolution threw out fuel broadcast for kindling fearful strife among nations,"—a policy maintained in a great measure through the "intellectual and moral power of Lamartine;" and an allusion is made to the numerous voluntary private acts of patriotism of the people at this crisis, under the financial embarrassments of the new Republic. The meeting of the new National Assembly, and the reorganization of the Government; the insurrection of the 15th of May; the fête in honor of the Republic, participated in by half a million of people, and paid for by a million of francs; the decree of perpetual banishment against Louis Philippe and the Orleans family; the insurrection of the 23d of June; the heroism of the Archbishop of Paris, and his fall at the barricades, with the solemn decree of the National Assembly in regard to that event; its decree under the joint resolution of Congress; the author's examination of the causes of this great insurrection; the overthrow of the Executive Committee, and consolidation of the executive power in General Cavaignac; the public acts of the Assembly to strengthen the Government after the insurrection; the striking report to the National Assembly of the committee appointed to examine into the Insurrections of May and June, and the light thrown upon the Revolution of February by the confession of some of the contrivers of the movement; the rise and fall of Lamartine; the fête in honor of the new Constitution, and an analysis of its contents; with the events which preceded and followed the election for President of the Republic, on the 10th of December, 1848: these are among the topics of interest to which he alludes.

Louis Napoleon also has his place in this narrative;

his first letter to the Assembly; his election for three provinces and for Paris; his letter to the President of the National Assembly and to his constituents; his first resignation as a representative of the people; the effort on the part of some of its members to enforce, as against *him alone* of the Napoleon family, the decree of perpetual banishment of 1832; his second election for Corsica, and second resignation; his third election for Paris, and first entry by a side-door into the National Assembly as a representative of the people—the eye of curiosity turned towards him, as he seated himself by the side of his former tutor—his well-weighed addresses in the National Assembly; his manifesto as a candidate for the Presidency; his election, and oath from the tribune to remain faithful to the Republic: these subjects and incidents, rapidly sketched in the order in which, with other events, they arose, give to the reader an accurate glance at his steady ascent to the summit of power. Mr. Rush witnessed his installation as President, was at his first reception of the Diplomatic Corps at the Palace de l'Elysée Bourbon, and gives his reflections suggested by that scene, in connection with the extraordinary career and down fall of the First Napoleon, —the nephew himself having been, but a year before, a wanderer and an exile, with a reference to the solitary attitude of England and the United States in the remarkable review.

This article not having been divided into chapters by the author, and occupying nearly half the volume, it is hoped that this notice of its character, longer than might otherwise seem necessary, may not be inappropriate.

The article was written during the last few months of industry in Mr. Rush's always extremely industrious life,—the last few months which preceded the lingering illness that bore him to the grave. The continuing vigor of a ripe old age, with the intellectual ardor which never forsook him, caused him perhaps to devote

to his self-assumed duty; more constant labor by night, as by day, than was salutary for one on the very verge of fourscore. He revised his diplomatic labors of that day, and called up and re-embodied the entries of his official and personal journal, with the unremitted and cheerful effort of very much earlier life. In this recalling the more prominent events of his Mission to France, the author has adhered to the mode adopted in his "Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London," by blending his recollections of public and social topics and scenes.

Mr. Rush died on the 30th of July last. He died at his house in town, to which he had removed some eighteen months before from Sydenham. Born on the 29th of August, 1780; another month, and he would have entered his eightieth year.

No filial biography will be attempted. But the executors of Mr. Rush venture to hope, that in issuing to the public the following of his occasional productions, a few of the tributes paid to his memory by others, may here be very briefly referred to, so much of his life having been passed in the public service. If the favorable judgment of his countrymen, be the rich reward of him who devotes himself to the service of the State, may not a part of the simple record of the judgment be prefixed to a little of what he did, even if prefixed by filial hands? It is hoped that this may be done consistently with the strictest observance of dictates, from the least infringement upon which they would shrink.

Here, in his native city, and in other and distant parts of the Union, Mr. Rush's death was announced by journals of various shades of opinion in ways which attested the sense of his fellow-citizens of his public and private character.

That "few men have served the nation more faith-

fully;" that "he performed the duties intrusted to him, through the confidence of successive administrations, with an eye single to the honor and interests of the country;" that "his private life was free from reproach;" that "he outlived all personal and political animosities;" that "he was singularly truthful and fearless;" that "he wronged no one;" that "in passing from the ranks of men, he enjoyed the precious consciousness of knowing that he did not leave behind him an enemy," and that "he died with the calmness of a Christian;" such tributes, appearing immediately after his death, and proceeding in some instances from those who had differed with him on public questions, were very grateful.

Two only, which record the proceedings of public bodies, will be given in full.

"At a stated meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held at its Hall on Monday evening, the 8th of August, 1859, Judge Cadwalader occupied the chair. It being announced that, since the last meeting of the Society, one of its oldest and most honored members, Richard Rush, had died, the Librarian stated that he had received from Mr. Henry D. Gilpin, one of the Vice-Presidents,* whose ill health prevented his attendance, a paper expressing his deep emotion occasioned by the occurrence just announced, and containing some remarks which he would have desired to make if present.

"In the language of Mr. Gilpin, in this paper:—

"Never since he had been connected with the Society, had it fallen to his lot to mourn with more sincere distress the loss of a fellow-member. Yet the event should not be regarded as a cause of sorrow; he had but passed the inevitable portal, to which we are all tending, after a long life of unsullied probity, great public usefulness, the cultivation and enjoyment of refined literary tastes, and a deportment sincere, generous and urbane in every social

* Late Attorney-General of the United States.

relation. Still, we feel that a link has been struck from the chain of grateful association.

"For myself, I do not approach the subject without feelings which are independent of his merit, in the light of which the world and history will judge him. For me a long vista is closed, of generous friendship; of stores of knowledge poured out; of manly truths, mildly but resolutely communicated; of a social nature ever genial, and a hospitality simple, but ever generous. By those who enjoyed the twenty years of his intercourse at Sydenham, can its charms ever be forgotten? Can they fail to recall the feast of reason and the flow of soul, by which a refined nature doubles every charm of friendship? I recall the low-walled ancestral cottage, shaded by its ancient trees, and remember how books and works of art adorned them, and especially the memorial gifts of friends, which added peculiar objects of association.

"The step and bannister brought from Milton's house and inserted in his own staircase; volumes with some kindly notice from Rogers or Campbell, or Hallam or Lyttleton; the pictures of statesmen and men of letters, both in England and in France, with tokens of their regard; all these seemed justly to augment his natural desire to linger to the last in the homestead which he had inherited, until the progress of the vast encroaching city took from it the last vestige of rural tranquillity. There must be many of those here assembled who can remember his venerable figure, as the summer evening closed, standing upon the last step of the cottage portico, to wave them his courteous adieu—the words of his conversation lingering on the ear of his retiring guest, as the wise and mild lessons of the aged Nestor dwelt in the heart of the parting Telemachus.

"The life of Richard Rush must be nearly the history of his country for half a century, for perhaps no American citizen has ever been so constantly engaged in its public events. In early life he studied law in Philadelphia, where he commenced, and for a time pursued, its practice. For several months he was attorney-general of the State. His marriage, however, to a lady of Maryland,* many of whose connexions resided in Washington, and the

* Miss Catherine Eliza Murray, daughter of Dr. James Murray, of Annapolis. She was the youngest of three, one of whom married Governor Lloyd, of Wye House, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; the other, Mr. Mason, of Clermont, Virginia.

eye of Mr. Madison having been fixed upon him, as a young man whose talents and personal qualities would make him both acceptable and useful to his administration, in the troublesome times which were at hand, led to his removal to that city, at the instance of the President, in the year 1811. He was appointed Controller of the Treasury, an office which, as then organized, largely required the exercise of legal talents.

"In 1814 he was called by Mr. Madison into his Cabinet, succeeding Mr. Pinckney in the post of Attorney-General of the United States, the President having offered him the choice of this office or that of Secretary of the Treasury. He continued to hold it until the close of Mr. Madison's administration.

"The other office, that of Secretary of the Treasury, he subsequently filled during the administration of Mr. Adams. In all the business of that office he proved himself to be an able administrator. His opinions upon the great financial question of the day, leading to a policy of protective duties, and his judgment in favor of it, were advocated with much ability. The question is one scarcely yet withdrawn from the disputed topics of governmental policy, either in this country or in Europe. He urged his convictions with candor, and did not shrink from their avowal at any period, even when they became subjects of partisan and vehement discussion. However correct or incorrect we may ourselves deem them to be, it is not to be denied that he found supporters of his views on this subject in some of the ablest American statesmen.

"The most continuous portion, however, of Mr. Rush's public life was his representation of America as her Minister in England and France. The former post he held for eight years, the latter for two.*

"It fell to his lot to take a leading part in some of the questions which subsequently proved to be of great national importance. In these measures he was aided by the great ability of the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams. Without attempting to trace, or even narrate, these measures, which is the work of history, it should not be forgotten that he pressed with incessant activity the rights

* Mr. Rush was appointed to the English Mission by President Monroe, in 1817, at the age of thirty-seven, having been for the previous six months his acting Secretary of State; to the French Mission he was appointed by President Polk, in 1847.

of the United States upon the Northwest coast of America; and that his minute historical researches, as well as able arguments, disclosed most, if not all, the points of controversy upon which that angry question subsequently turned.

"It is no longer a question of doubt that, after the close of the great wars of Europe, some of its most powerful sovereigns, who were united in the so-called Holy Alliance, entertained views of interference on the American continent, the character of which, never completely developed, would necessarily partake of the spirit and aims of that alliance. This disclosed itself to the sagacity of Mr. Canning while Mr. Rush was in London. His views were communicated to Mr. Rush, and their negotiations became the basis of that quiet, but decisive, expression of the American Government, without which the conduct of some of the European Governments would, in all probability, have led to consequences disastrous in American history.

"Without investigating the inferences, in regard to the policy of the United States, which, in subsequent political controversies, have been deduced from the language of President Monroe, and without expressing an opinion as to their applicability to subsequent events, which may or may not be similar—for this would be entering on the province of the historian—it must be admitted that the measure itself, adopted at the time and in the manner in which it was, has scarcely been surpassed in importance in the foreign policy of the United States. In its conduct, Mr. Rush displayed throughout great ability, discretion, vigilance, and temper. These qualities, indeed, marked in a high degree his whole diplomatic career in England.

"Though his services as Minister in France occupied a much shorter period, yet his residence in Paris embraced a portion of the reign of Louis Philippe, the whole of the Republic, and part of the government of Louis Napoleon as its President. Notwithstanding his personal relations with the former sovereign, he did not hesitate in his duty, as the representative of America, and, without awaiting the course of the representatives of other countries, to recognize, as far as it was in his power, the free government established by the French people. Although such an emergency could not have been anticipated by his instructions, he rightly judged the feelings and sentiments of his government and countrymen. His diplomatic conduct through the erratic course

of events in France, which succeeded each other in quick succession, was marked, in each emergency, by the ability, promptness, resolution, and temper which characterized his first important movement; and when he retired from his mission, and with it from active public service, he returned to the United States with increased distinction and untarnished honor.

"One feature remains to be noticed. His literary ability was superior. He loved habitually the best English authors. He was careful in the formation of his style. His mind was richly stored, perhaps, beyond any of his cotemporaries, with the minute history of the men and times among which he lived. His judgment of individual character was less obscured by prejudice, than is usual among politicians who lived through stormy times. If he could ever err in accuracy in regard to events, it was from no want of an anxious search for truth, which he possessed excellent opportunities to ascertain. In his opinions on public measures, it would be vain to say that all his judgments could be right; but they were always conscientious.*

"After some appropriate remarks from the Chair, it was unanimously resolved that the memoir of Mr. Gilpin be entered on the records, with an expression of the Society's deep regret at the loss of their venerable and distinguished member."

At the annual meeting of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, held at Washington on the 28th January, 1860, Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, a Senator of the United States, and one of the Regents on behalf

* This tribute of friendship was dictated from the sick bed to which Mr. Gilpin was at the time confined, and which he only left at brief intervals until he was himself borne to that "inevitable portal" to which he so feelingly refers. His death was followed by the universal regrets of a large circle of friends and admirers here and in other parts of the Union. His pure character, and benevolent dispositions, his bland intercourse, cultivated mind and extensive knowledge, with the liberal tastes and pursuits to which the closing years of his life were devoted, not less than the qualities which gave him a public reputation, made him a delightful friend, as well as a valuable and distinguished citizen. Many warm ties were severed by his death; a death too soon announced, with most appropriate tributes, in the same learned body.

of the Senate, under the Act of Congress, addressed the Board, as follows:—

"Since the last meeting of the Board of Regents, one of its earliest and most distinguished members, the Honorable *Richard Rush*, has departed this life.

"The history of his public career is familiar to all the Regents, to whom I scarcely need detail even its more prominent incidents. But I may remark, that it is seldom the good fortune of any man to fill so many important offices, and to execute so many responsible public trusts, not only with credit, honor and usefulness, but with ever increasing reputation. Mr. Rush's life was a long one, and he entered into the service of his country while yet in the spring of manhood. He was Comptroller of the Treasury at a time when the fiscal affairs of the government were in disorder, and the public accounts were numerous and complicated, and often required difficult legal adjustment. He was next Attorney-General. Soon after the peace of 1815 he was Minister to England, and occupied that important post during eight years, when various national questions of difficulty and delicacy, required diplomatic skill, firmness and caution, for their settlement. He was Secretary of the Treasury when measures of revenue and finance were violently disputed; Minister to France when the monarchy was a second time overthrown and a Republic again proclaimed.

"To the discharge of these great employments, he brought integrity, ability, intelligence, firmness, courtesy, and a directness of purpose, which scorned all finesse, and which served his country to the full extent of all that could have been demanded or hoped. He was a good scholar, having graduated at Princeton College, and cultivated literature, as well as the severer studies of his profession, with great zeal and success. Withal, he was remarkable for the kindness of his temper, the amenity of his manners, and the charm of his conversation.

"With this establishment he had the earliest connection, having under the authority of the government caused the institution of legal proceedings, in England, for the recovery of the fund with which it was founded and endowed, and superintended their progress to the close. The Act of Congress of 1846, having established the Smithsonian Institution, he was appointed one of its first Regents, and was constantly continued by Congress a member

of the Board. His zeal for the 'increase and diffusion of knowledge among men,' and his sound judgment, contributed to the adoption of the system of operations, which, so far, has borne the happiest fruits; and his interest in and care for its successful management, furnished one of the enjoyments of a tranquil and dignified old age, attended by reverence and troops of friends.

"On motion of Mr. Pearce, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Board:—

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Regents have learned with deep regret the death of the Hon. Richard Rush, one of their members; whose long and distinguished career of public usefulness commanded their entire respect; and whose moral and social worth won their highest esteem and regard."

An account of these proceedings, it may be added, was ordered to be included in the Annual Smithsonian Report to Congress, Mr. Rush having been one of the Regents whose appointment, under the Act establishing the Institution, was made by Congress.

This is not the place, still less is it for the pen now employed, to speak of those private tributes which, if not more grateful, are apt to be founded on more intimate knowledge or closer opportunities. As such were alone intended for, so they are confined to, the immediate circle of which he was the honored and affectionate head. He was buried at Laurel Hill. He left in writing his wishes with respect to his funeral; among them, that the Rev. Dr. Hare, Rector of St. Matthew's Church, in the near neighborhood of Sydenham, should officiate at it, and his wishes were complied with. In his family vault—a secluded spot on the banks of the Schuylkill—his remains were placed by the side of his wife, who preceded him to the tomb.

PHILADELPHIA,
July, 1860.

SYNOPSIS

OF A FEW FAMILIAR LETTERS OF

WASHINGTON,

TO HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY, COLONEL LEAR,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS DOMESTIC LIFE;

WITH SOME REFLECTIONS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

FOUR LETTERS IN FULL.

TO CHARLES J. INGERSOLL.

THIS literary trifle is hardly worth a dedication; yet it has dared to touch, though with incompetent hands, a high subject, and, trifle as it is, I dedicate it to you. At an agreeable little dinner at your table lately, where we had the new Vice-President, Mr. Breckinridge, whose maternal stock, the Stanhope Smiths and Witherspoons, so rich in intellect, we knew at Princeton, you said we had been friends for upwards of sixty years. You were right, for we were merry boys together in Philadelphia before our college days at Princeton; and I may here add, that our friendship has never been interrupted.

RICHARD RUSH.

INTRODUCTORY EXPLANATION.

THE manuscript or paper here published was prepared from a collection of original letters from General Washington on matters, for the most part, purely domestic and personal, addressed to Colonel Tobias Lear, his private Secretary for a part of the time he was President; and then, and during periods much longer, his confidential friend. They came into my hands through the voluntary kindness of Mrs. Lear, of the city of Washington, the estimable relict of Colonel Lear, and niece of Mrs. Washington, whose friendship it was my good lot and that of my family to enjoy; as we did that of Colonel Lear while he lived. The latter died in Washington in 1816. Mrs. Lear first informed me of these letters ten or twelve years ago when in Washington, and offered them to my perusal and examination, telling me to take them home and retain them as long as I chose, and use them as I thought best, for I trust she knew I would not abuse this privilege. I brought them home as requested, being then too much engaged in the business of the Smithsonian Institution, as one of the Regents on its first organization, to examine them while in Washington. She afterwards read, ap-

proved, and for some time had in her hands, the paper I drew up from them.

It consisted of notices of, and extracts from, these original letters, the matter being abridged, connecting links used, and omissions made, where the illustrious author himself marked them private, or, from parts otherwise not necessary to go before the world. So guarded and prepared, and with a commentary interwoven, Mrs. Lear left its publication to my discretion. I returned the original letters, in number more than thirty, in the state I received them from her. I never allowed any one of them to be copied; but gave one away, or two, for I am not at this day certain which, to Mr. Polk while he was President of the United States, having first asked and obtained Mrs. Lear's consent. She also gave me two of them not very long before her decease, which I value the more as her gift. I have other original letters from the same immortal source, derived from the son of Colonel Lear.

This excellent lady, who long honored me with her friendship and confidence in the above and other ways, after surviving Colonel Lear forty years, died last December in Washington. There she had continued to live as his widow; beloved as a pattern of the Christian virtues, and enjoying the esteem of the circle around her, as an interesting survivor of days becoming historical, but ever elevating in the associations they recall. Now that she is gone, I am induced to give to the public the paper in question. In doing so I have the best grounds for believing that I perform an act that would have been grateful to her were she living. She was fully informed of my intention to publish it, and could not

but be sensible that the long respect and affectionate attachment of General Washington which her husband enjoyed, as so indelibly shown in these letters, is a record of his probity, capacity and worth, than which none could ever be more precious, or likely to be more enduring. This consideration it might be thought affects only the descendants of Colonel Lear, or others devoted to his memory; but I have ventured to think that the publication may not be wholly unacceptable on broader grounds. Nothing, indeed, in authentic connection with Washington's great name, can ever be unwelcome to the American people; and, although it may have happened that some few of these letters have heretofore found their way into print, in whole or in part, the number, as far as was known to Mrs. Lear, is believed to be very small. Hence the publication need not be forborne on that account; more especially if it should be found to carry with it the slightest general interest in the form now presented. The brevity of the commentary will the more commend it to indulgence.

In regard to the narrative of Arnold's treason, as given by the great Chief at his table at Mount Vernon, and afterwards written down by Colonel Lear, which I have appended to the synopsis of the letters, it was not within Mrs. Lear's knowledge, nor is it within mine at present, that it has ever been in print before.

RICHARD RUSH.

Sydenham, near Philadelphia, February, 1857.

WASHINGTON IN DOMESTIC LIFE.

When first I opened and cursorily read the original letters from General Washington, mentioned in the foregoing introductory explanation, and noticed the domestic topics which ran so largely through them, they struck me as possessing peculiar interest. They were interesting as coming from that venerated source, and doubly so, considering how little is known, through his own correspondence, of his domestic life; scarcely, in fact, any of its details. Reading the letters again, I found the matter to be somewhat more varied than my first eager inspection of them, as hastily unfolded, had led me to suppose; but they were desultory, and much broken as to dates. The occasional intermingling of other matter, especially public matter, with the domestic topics, did not diminish the interest of the letters, but the contrary. In this publication I follow the order of the

dates. Where wide chasms occur, I have merely supplied a link in the chain by an explanatory remark here and there, in aid of the reader, not hazarding other remarks until all the letters are mentioned. Thus much as to the plan. I proceed to speak of the letters themselves.

The first in date is of the fifth of September, 1790. It is written in Philadelphia, where Washington had just then arrived from New York, Mr. Lear, as may be inferred from it, being in New York. He states that he would proceed onward to Mount Vernon on the day following if Mrs. Washington's health would permit, as she had been indisposed since their arrival in Philadelphia; that before he arrived, the city corporation had taken the house of Mr. Robert Morris for his residence, but that it would not be sufficiently commodious without additions.

This house was in Market Street on the south side near Sixth Street. The market house buildings then terminated at Fourth Street; the town in this street extended westward scarcely as far as Ninth Street; good private dwellings were seen above Fifth Street; Mr. Morris's was perhaps the best; the garden was well inclosed by a wall.

He describes the house, remarking that even with the proposed additions the gentlemen of his family would have to go into the third story, where also Mr. Lear and Mrs. Lear would have to go; and that there would be no place for his own study and dressing-room but in the back building; there are good stables, and the coach-house would hold his carriages; but his coachmen and postillions would have to sleep over the stable, where there was no fireplace, though the room might be warmed by a stove. The other servants could sleep in the house, he adds, if, in addition to the present accommodations, a servants' hall were built with one or two lodging-rooms over it. These are samples of the particularity with which he writes. He tells Mr. Lear that he had left his coach and harness with the coachmaker, Mr. Clarke, in Philadelphia, for repairs, and requests him to see that they are well done, and at the time appointed. The residue of the letter relates to the bringing on of his servants from New York. It begins "Dear Sir," and after saying that Mrs. Washington joins with him in best wishes to Mrs. Lear, concludes, "I am sincerely and affectionately yours, Geo. Washington." The letter fills the four pages of a sheet of letter paper in his compact but bold and legible hand, with a few interlineations made very distinctly.

The next letter is dated Mount Vernon, September 20, 1790. After saying a few words about Mr. Morris's house, he reverts to the subject of bringing his servants from New York to Philadelphia, naming several of them, but doubting the expediency of bringing all by sea, especially the upper servants. The steward and his wife are mentioned as perhaps best not to be brought at all; he has no wish to part with them: first, because he does not like to be changing; and secondly, because he did not know how to supply their places, but was much mistaken if the expenses of the second table, where the steward presided, had not greatly exceeded the proper mark; he suspected there was nothing brought to his own table of liquors, fruit, or other things, that had not been used as profusely at the steward's; that if his suspicions were unfounded, he should be sorry for having entertained them; and if not, it was at least questionable whether any successor of * * * * * * might not do the same thing, in which case there might be a change without a benefit. He leaves it with Mr. Lear whether to retain him or not, provided he thought him honest, of which he would be better able to judge on comparing his accounts with those of his former steward, which he (the General) had not done. He concludes, "with sincere regard and affection, I am yours, Geo. Washington."

At this epoch, the seat of government had just been removed from New York to Philadelphia, making it necessary for General Washington to establish himself in the latter city, which leads him into the details given and to follow.

The third letter is from Mount Vernon, September 27, 1790. It begins by saying that since his last, the date of which is not recollected, as he kept no copies of these letters, two had been received from Mr. Lear, of which he gives the dates. He approves of his mode of removing the furniture, and asks, "How have you disposed of the Pagoda? It is a delicate piece of stuff, and will require to be handled tenderly."

Alluding to the house in which he had lived in New York, the lease of which was unexpired, he says that he expected. * * * * * would endeavor to impose his own terms when he found he could not get it off his hands; we are in his power and he must do what he pleases with us. As the "Lustre" is paid for and securely packed up, and may suit the largest drawing-room at Mr. Morris's house in Philadelphia, he does not incline to part with it; there is a mangle in the kitchen, which Mrs. Morris proposes to leave, taking his mangle instead;* he

* The mangle was believed to be a fixture in Mr. Morris's house.

would not object provided his was as good, but not if he would be the gainer by exchanging. He concludes, Mrs. Washington and all the family joining in best wishes to Mrs. Lear and himself, "I am your sincere friend and affectionate servant," signing his name as before.

The next is dated Mount Vernon, October 3, 1790. In this letter he refers to the declaration of the ministers of Britain and Spain as published in the newspapers,* and requests Mr. Lear to give him the earliest information of these or any other interesting matters, beyond what the newspapers say; remarking that Mr. Jefferson's absence from New York [Mr. Jefferson was then Secretary of State] might be the means of delaying the receipt of official advices to him longer than usual. He requests Mr. Lear to use his endeavors for ascertaining the best schools in Philadelphia with a view to placing Washington Custis, Mrs. Washington's grandson, at the best. If the college is under good regulations, and they have proper tutors to prepare boys of his standing for the higher branches of education, he makes a quære if it would not be better to put him there at once, the presumption being that a system may prevail there by which the gradations are better connected

* Alluding probably to the Nootka Sound controversy then pending between these courts.

than in schools which have no correspondence with each other. Adverting again to his servants, he reminds Mr. Lear that no mention had been made of John's wife, and asks what he understands to be her plans. He incloses a letter from John to her, and another from James to his "del Toboso." [These were four of his black servants.] He requests him, when able to get at Count d'Estaing's letters, to send him a transcript of what he says of a bust he had sent him of Neckar, together with a number of prints of Neckar and of the Marquis la Fayette; and concludes in the same cordial and affectionate style as before.

Mount Vernon, October 10, 1790. This is next in date. The early parts of this letter have reference to the steps for removing his furniture and servants from New York; to the getting rid of the house still upon his hands there, and to the proper care and instruction of his niece, Miss Harriet Washington, when he should be established in Philadelphia. Referring again to Washington Custis's education, whom he had adopted as a son and in whom he appears to have taken great interest,*

* The affectionate interest General Washington took in this adopted son is well known. Mr. Custis still lives (1856), and still dispenses the hospitalities of Arlington, his estate and home in Virginia near the city of Washington, which it overlooks from its beautiful heights. His house exhibits paintings, illustrative

he wishes inquiry to be made as to the higher branches taught at the college, with a view to placing his nephews, George and Lawrence Washington, at that Institution in Philadelphia. He speaks very kindly of these nephews, and of their desire for improvement. Having left the languages, they are engaged, he adds, under Mr. Harrow, in Alexandria, in the study of the mathematics and learning French. Concludes as usual.

Next comes one from Mount Vernon of October 27, 1790. He tells Mr. Lear that on his return from a twelve days' excursion up the Potomac, he finds three letters from him, which he acknowledges under their dates, and is very glad to learn that he had arrived in Philadelphia, and that the servants and furniture had got safely there. It is equally agreeable to him that the steward and his wife had come. He leaves to Mr. L. the arrangement of the furniture, with remarks of his own as to its disposition in some of the rooms; and wishes the rent of Mr. Morris's house to be fixed, before the day of his going into it. He desired to pay a just value; more, he had no idea would be asked; but intimates his fears that the committee

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of our revolutionary annals, the work of his amateur pencil and leisure; whilst the productions of his patriotic pen have charmed the public by the anecdotes they record in attractive ways of the personal, rural, and other habits of the great Chief.

(of the city councils of Philadelphia is probably meant) were holding back under an intention that the rent should be paid by the public, to which he would not consent.* It would be best, he thinks, if all the servants could be accommodated without using the loft over the stable, as no orders he could give them would prevent their carrying lights there, if they were to use it as lodgers. By return of the hand that takes this and other letters from him to the Alexandria post-office, he hopes to receive later dates from Mr. Lear, and, possibly, something more indicative of peace or war between Spain and England; and concludes, "I am your affectionate friend, Geo. Washington."

Mount Vernon, October 31, 1790, is the next date. After expressing concern lest his house in Philadelphia should not be ready in time, and pointing out arrangements for his journey to Philadelphia, he speaks again of his carriage at the coachmaker's in Philadelphia. He thinks that a wreath round the crests on the panels would be more correspondent with the Seasons (allego-

* F. M. Etting, Esq., of Philadelphia, obligingly sent me for perusal some of the original proceedings of the city councils on this subject. They were found, with other MSS., by those who have charge of the State House building, and Mr. Etting had the patriotic intention of passing them all over to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

rical paintings probably in medallion), which were to remain there, than the motto; and that the motto might be put on the plates of the harness, but leaves it to Mr. Lear and the coachmaker to adopt which they thought best, when the whole was looked at, as he could not himself see it as a whole. He speaks of the boarding schools in Philadelphia, and is anxious that full and careful inquiry be made with a view to securing proper advantages in the education of his niece, but to be made in a way not to give any expectation of a preference between rival seminaries, as he had come to no decision in regard to his niece. As his family, on removing to Philadelphia, will have new connections to form with tradespeople, he requests Mr. Lear to find out those in each branch who stand highest for skill and fair dealing, saying it is better to be slow in choosing, than be under any necessity of changing. Concludes "with affectionate regards I am your sincere friend, G. W."

Mount Vernon, November 7, 1790. A letter full of minute details. It sets out with expressing his renewed anxiety respecting the education of his adopted son Washington Custis, remarking that if the *schools* in the college are under good masters, and are as fit for boys of his age (he was probably about eight at this time, for we were schoolmates in Philadelphia at the dates of the earliest of these

letters) as a private school would be, he is still of opinion he had better be placed there in the first instance; but the propriety of the step will depend, he thinks: 1. Upon the character and ability of the masters; 2. Upon the police and discipline of the school; and thirdly, upon the number of the pupils. If there be too many pupils, justice cannot be done to them, whatever the ability of the masters, adding that what ought to be the due proportion is in some measure matter of opinion, but that an extreme must be obvious to all. He leaves it with Mr. Lear to decide that point, if nothing else should be finally resolved upon by himself before he reaches Philadelphia. He next incloses a letter from Mr. Gouverneur Morris, then in Paris (but not our minister at the French court at that time), with the bill of charges for certain articles which he had requested him to send from Paris. The plated ware far exceeds in price the utmost bounds of his calculation; but as he is persuaded Mr. Morris had only done what he thought right, he requests Mr. Lear to make immediate payment in manner as he points out. Among the articles of this plated ware, were wine coolers, for holding four decanters of cut glass, also sent by Mr. Morris; and he seems as little satisfied with the size and fashion of these coolers, from the description he has received of them, as with their unexpected cost. He thinks more appropriate ones of real

silver might be made, the pattern being different and work lighter, giving his own ideas of a pattern, and a little draft of it on the page of the letter, and requesting Mr Lear to talk to a silversmith on the matter, remarking that perhaps those sent by Mr. Morris might give hints for the pattern; which, if not found too heavy, as he had not yet seen them, might after all answer. He approves of the Pagoda's standing in the smallest drawing-room, where Mr. Lear had placed it. Whether the *green* curtain, or a new *yellow* one, is to be used for the staircase window in the hall, may depend on his getting an exact match in color for the former, saying that in things of this sort one would not regard a small additional expense, to save the eye from bad contrasts. He expresses the hope that his study will be in readiness by the time he arrives, and that the rubbish and other litter made by those "men of mortar and the carpenters," will be removed, so that the yard may be made and kept as clean as the parlor. This, he says, is essential, as, by the alterations made in the house, the back rooms had become the best, and there was an uninterrupted view from them into the yard, especially from the dining-room. He concludes by saying that as Mrs. Washington writes to Mrs. Lear, he would only add his best wishes for her and affectionate regards for himself, "being your sincere friend, G. W."

Mount Vernon, November 12, 1790. This letter is a duplicate, written to inform Mr. Lear that he depended upon P * * * * 's coach, horses, and driver, for taking on the children to Philadelphia. His reason for writing the duplicate was, that Giles (one of his servants), who was sent on Wednesday to Alexandria with his first letter with directions that if the stage had gone, to pursue it to Georgetown so as to overtake the mail, had put the letter into the hands of a passenger, who "all but forced it from him," so anxious was this passenger to do an obliging thing, as he "knew General Washington." This passenger told his name, but it was "so comical," he could not recollect it. This was Giles's story; and the General adds, that as he knew what little dependence was to be placed on the punctual conveyance of letters by a private hand, he writes this duplicate by post to repeat his request that Mr. Lear will inform him, by return of post, what he has to expect with *certainty* as to the coach hired for taking on a part of his family to Philadelphia. His house is full of company, he adds, and concludes as usual.

Mount Vernon, November 14, 1790. This letter manifests his concern about the house in Philadelphia; for, besides that it is still unfinished, the rent, he says, has not yet been fixed, though he has long since wished it; he is at a loss to under-

stand it all. He hopes that the additions and alterations made on his account whilst neat, have not been in an extravagant style. The latter would not only be contrary to his wishes, but repugnant to his interest and convenience, as it would be the means of keeping him from the use and comforts of the house until a later day; and because the furniture, and everything else, must then be in accordance with its expensive finish, which would not agree with his present furniture, and he had no wish to be taxed to suit the taste of others. The letter is of more length than usual and marked "private;" being, with one other, the only ones in the collection so marked. I will, therefore, notice its contents no further than barely to add, that in a part where he alludes to the still possible intention of making the public in Philadelphia pay his rent, his terms of dissent become very emphatic. In reference to his coach, he would rather have heard that, as repaired, it was "*plain* and elegant" than "*rich* and elegant." Conclusion as usual.

Mount Vernon, Nov. 17, 1790. This, he says, is a very bad day. He is just setting off for Alexandria, to a dinner given to him by the citizens of that place. The caps (jockey caps) of Giles and Paris (two of his postillions), being so much worn that they will be unfit for use by the time he has

completed his journey to Philadelphia, he requests that new ones may be made, the tassels to be of better quality than the old ones; and that a new set of harness may be made for the leaders, with a postillion saddle; the saddle-cloth of which to be like the hammer-cloth, that all may be of a piece when necessary to use six horses. This he sometimes did in travelling. The letter concludes as usual.

"Spurriers," November 23, 1790.

He is now on his journey to Philadelphia in his own travelling carriage with Mrs. Washington; the children, and the servants in attendance on the children, being in the stage-coach hired for the occasion.

He dates from this tavern twelve or fourteen miles south of Baltimore. The roads, he says, are infamous—no hope of reaching Baltimore that night, as they had not yet gone to dinner but were waiting for it. The letter is only of a few lines, and evidently written in haste, though he never makes apologies on that account.

Georgetown, March 28, 1791.

The General and family arrived in Philadelphia and took possession of Mr. Morris's house. The session of Congress passed over. It was the short

session. He was now on his return to Mount Vernon, having reached the above town on the Maryland side of the Potomac, from which he dates.

This letter is on his private affairs. He expresses dissatisfaction at the conduct of * * * * * *, one of his agents in the State of ———, in letting out his property and receiving his rents; he is too well acquainted, he says, with facts that bear upon the case, to be imposed upon by the tale he tells; and even his own letter proves him to be what he would not call him.

Mount Vernon, April 3, 1791. This letter is also in part on his private affairs. It contains further complaints of this agent. In the closing parts of it, there being at this time growing apprehensions of trouble with the Indians, he makes the remark, that until we could restrain the turbulence and disorderly conduct of our own borderers, it would be in vain he feared to expect peace with the Indians; or that they would govern their own people better than we did ours.

It was in the following autumn that General St. Clair's army was defeated by them in the neighborhood of the Miami Villages.

Mount Vernon, April 6, 1791. A short letter. It mentions his intention of continuing his journey southward the next day; his horses being well recruited, he hopes they will go on better than they have come from Philadelphia. He incloses Mr. Lear, who remains in Philadelphia, some letters to be put on file, and requests him to pay a man who had been working in the garden.

The journey southward next day was the commencement of his tour to the Southern States, having made one into the Northern States before he became President, or soon afterwards. Having completed his tour, he passed several days in Georgetown to execute the powers vested in him for fixing on a place for the permanent seat of government for the United States under the new constitution.

Richmond, Virginia, April 12, 1791. This is a letter of four closely written pages, mainly, though not exclusively, about his servants, and the difficulties with them under the non-slavery laws of Pennsylvania; but as he requests that the knowledge of its contents, and the sentiments he expresses, may be confined to Mrs. Lear and Mrs. Washington, I notice no more of it.

Savannah, May 13, 1791. He here says that the continual hurry into which he was thrown by entertainments, visits, and ceremonies, in the course of his southern tour, left him scarcely a moment he could call his own. He gives directions as to where his letters are to be sent, that they may strike him at the proper points whilst travelling; his horses are much worn down, he says, by the bad roads, especially the two he bought just before leaving Philadelphia, "and my old white horse."

Fredericksburg, Virginia, June 12, 1791. He informs Mr. Lear that he had reached this place the day preceding, and expected to get back to Mount Vernon the day following. He would remain there until the 27th, which was the day appointed for him to meet the commissioners at Georgetown to fix on the spot for the public buildings to be erected in the new Federal City, and writes to give Mr. Lear this foreknowledge of his movements.

Mount Vernon, June 15, 1791. The early part of this letter relates to certain blank commissions signed and left with Mr. Lear to be filled up under the direction and advice of the Secretary of the Treasury. He next adverts to a vacancy in one of the United States judgeships—that of the district of Pennsylvania—by the death of the late incum-

bent. Some have applied, he says, for the appointment, and others will. In reference to this and other offices that will be vacant (naming them), he wishes Mr. Lear to get the best information he can as to those who it is thought would fill them "with the greatest ability and integrity." Several meritorious persons, he adds, have already been brought to his view.

He is glad to hear that the affairs of his household in Philadelphia go on so well, and tells Mr. Lear it might not be improper for him to hint how foolish it would be in the servants left there, to enter into any combinations for supplanting those in authority, (meaning the upper servants). The attempt would be futile, and must recoil upon themselves; and next, admitting that they were to make the lives of the present steward and housekeeper so uneasy as to induce them to quit, others would be got, and such, too, as would be equally, if not more, rigid in exacting the duty required of the servants below them; the steward and housekeeper were indispensably necessary in taking trouble off of Mrs. Washington's hands and his own, and would be supported in the line of their duty, whilst any attempt to counteract them, would be considered as the strongest evidence the other servants could give of their unworthiness. A good and faithful servant, he adds, was never afraid of having his conduct looked into, but the reverse.

Mount Vernon, June 19, 1791. He acknowledges the receipt of several letters from Mr. Lear, and approves what he has done. He tells him that in the fall he shall want blankets for his servants and people* at Mount Vernon; and the summer being the best time for buying them, he wishes inquiry to be made on this subject, saying he should want about two hundred. He wants to see Paine's answer to Burke's pamphlet on the French Revolution, and requests it may be sent to him. He says that "Paris" has grown to be so lazy and self-willed that John, the coachman, says he has no sort of government of him, as he did nothing that he was told to do, and everything he was not. The General adds that his incapacity as a postillion was such, that he had determined to leave him behind when returning to Philadelphia, which would make one or two boys necessary in his stable at that place, as assistants, and asks whether it might not be possible to find emigrant Germans to answer the purpose. He concludes, "Be assured of the esteem and regard of yours affectionately, G. W."

Mount Vernon, September 26, 1791. He refers to the house in Philadelphia; says that he never expressed any dissatisfaction at want of accommo-

* The latter mean his slaves.

dation in it since he got rid of the workmen; and that such a supposition must *not* be adduced as a motive for causing a *public edifice* to be built for his use or occupancy; that he has no intention of interfering with the politics of Pennsylvania, or the household accommodations of his successors in the Presidency; but that, for himself, personally, he had wholly declined living in any public building. This subject appears to have engaged some of his sensibility, and he tells Mr. Lear he is glad to learn he has put in writing his views in regard to it, as that will protect him against misconception on any point.

Mount Vernon, October 7, 1791. He writes again about the blankets; some have been offered to him in Alexandria, but he likes neither the size nor price, and speaks of those to be had in Philadelphia as intolerably narrow. He cannot think of being disappointed in his supply, as his people would suffer in the ensuing winter. He wants one hundred of the largest size and best quality, and one hundred of the middle size but *good* in quality. "I recollect asking you," he continues, "if among my pamphlets you have seen the journal of my tour to the French" (the word *post* was probably omitted here) "on *La beauf* in the year 1753. I understood you, no; but Mrs. Washington thinks

you said, yes. Pray decide the point for us—I have searched in vain for it here."

Mount Vernon, October 14, 1791. In this letter he begins by saying he is glad of the intimation given of the intentions of the minister of France (not stated what they are), and pleased, though distressed, at the information that the 24th instant is the day for the meeting of Congress. He had supposed it to be the 31st, and intended to spend Monday and possibly Tuesday in Georgetown; but now he would endeavor to reach Bladensburg on Monday night, and lose no time afterwards in pursuing his journey onward to Philadelphia, as scarce any time would be left to him for preparing his communications when the session opened, if the members were punctual in attending. This makes it the more necessary, he says, that Mr. Lear should look with accuracy, and without delay, into his speeches and the laws of the past sessions; that all might be at hand for his own review and consideration. And he requests Mr. Lear, should anything else have occurred to him as fit for recommendation or communication in his speech to Congress, to note it, that it might be ready for his consideration in case it should not be among his own memorandums. The conclusion is in his usually cordial way.

This session of Congress passed over. It was the long one, and ran into May 1792. I find in the collection only three letters to Mr. Lear dated in that year. The first is from Mount Vernon, July 30, '92, soon after he had left Philadelphia, and is familiarly descriptive of his journey homewards. His horses plagued him a good deal, he says, and the sick mare, owing to a dose of physic administered the night he reached Chester, was so much weakened as to be unable to carry Austin (one of the postillions) further than the Susquehannah; had to be led thence to Hartford, where she was left, and two days afterwards, "gave up the ghost." As he travelled on, he heard great complaints of the Hessian fly, and of rust or mildew in the wheat, and believed that the damage would be great in some places; but that more was said than the case warranted, and on the whole the crops would be abundant. On arriving in Georgetown, he found many well-conceived plans for the public buildings in the new city, and remarks that it was a pleasure to him to find in our new country so much architectural ability displayed. Concludes, "I am your affectionate friend, G. W."

The second is dated Mount Vernon, September 21, '92. He tells Mr. Lear that he had written him but one letter since arriving at Mount Vernon, but was on the eve of writing a second, when his of

the 5th of August got to hand, with such information of his movements (Mr. Lear having been away from Philadelphia), as might now enable him to direct a letter to him without danger of its "reverberating back." He thanks him for the information afforded in his letter of the 5th of August, and in another of the 21st of July; says he has nothing agreeable of a domestic nature to relate. Poor George (the General is here supposed to allude to Mr. George Lewis, one of his nephews, then staying at Mount Vernon),* he fears, is not far from that place whence no traveller returns; he is but the shadow of what he was; has not been out of his room, scarcely out of his bed, for six weeks; has intervals of ease which flatter us a little, but he, the General, has little hope of his surviving the winter. It is so he writes of this nephew, adding that the subject gives him much distress. Concludes, "with sincere and affectionate regard I am always your friend, G. W."

The third is dated Mount Vernon, October 1, '92. In the expectation that this letter will find Mr. Lear again in Philadelphia, he wishes him to begin in time to compare all his former speeches to Congress with the subsequent acts of that body, that he might see what parts of them passed altogether un-

* Mr. Custis has since informed me that it was his nephew, Major George Washington, who is here meant.

noticed or had been only partially noticed, that thus he might be enabled to judge whether any, and what, parts should be brought forward again. He requests him also, as before, to note everything that may occur to him as fit to be noticed in his communication to Congress this year, as he desires to have all the materials collected for his consideration in preparing his speech. He speaks again of the illness of "poor George," and says that others of his family are unwell. Concludes in his usually kind and affectionate manner.

This session of Congress—the short session—came to its regular close on the 3d of March, 1793. The General is again at Mount Vernon in April, and writes to Mr. Lear on the 8th of that month on some of his private affairs. He tells him that his letter of the 3d had been received transmitting Mr. * * * * * * 's rental, and Mr. * * * * * 's profession of his inability to discharge his bond. The latter he thinks more candid than the former, but supposes that he must be satisfied with both, knowing he will never get better terms from either. He intimates that before doing anything with respect to the lands the latter had from him, he wishes Mr. Lear to have some conversation with * * * * on a point he (the General) did not clearly understand, as he would not "put it in the power of malice itself to charge him with any agency in

measures that could be tortured into impropriety in this matter." In regard to the former person (the same mentioned in his letters of March 28, and April 3, '91, as having the charge of some of his property), he requests Mr. Lear to endeavor to find out through members of Congress, if he can, the name of some individual in the State in question who would be likely to make him a faithful agent, as it would not do to leave his concerns in the hands of * * * *.* any longer; he was too dependent, he feared (besides other objections to him), for his election to the legislature, to fix his rents at a just medium, or collect them in the manner he ought to do. The conclusion of this letter has reference to the will of his deceased nephew, Mr. George Lewis, who had died at Mount Vernon.*

Mr. Lear had now ceased to be his private Secretary; but the most intimate correspondence was still kept up with him. On the 21st of June, 1793, there is a letter to him from Philadelphia (Mr. L. then being in Georgetown), which the General writes on purpose to say that he considers it a very kind and friendly act in him to go to Mount Vernon. The letter finishes with a few lines of allusion to his private affairs.

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* See correction, *ante*, note, 54.

Philadelphia, May 6, 1794. This is a letter written to Mr. Lear when the latter was in England. It treats of private matters, and expresses his pleasure at the reception he had from the Earl of Buchan, Sir John Sinclair, and others in England to whom General Washington had given him letters. He tells him he was much obliged to him for the several communications in his letters, and placed great reliance on them; that the opportunities he derived from mixing with people in different walks, high and low, and of different political sentiments, must have afforded him an extensive range for observation and comparison; more so by far than could fall to the lot of a stationary person always revolving in a particular circle. The General then touches on our home affairs. He was still President, it will be remembered. He says that to tell him the British order in council of the 8th of June last respecting neutral vessels had given much discontent in the United States, and that the order of 6th of November had thrown the people into a flame, could hardly be new to him.* In reference to all the existing difficulties with England he tells him that many measures had been moved in Con-

* The "provision order," as it was called, which authorised British cruisers to stop, and send into British ports, neutral vessels carrying provisions to French ports, to be dealt with as the order prescribed.

gress, some of which had passed into acts, and others were pending; that among the former, was a law for fortifying our principal seaports, and another for raising an additional corps of eight hundred artillery-men for the defence of them and other purposes; and that the bills pending were: 1st. One to complete our present military establishment; 2d. One to raise an army of twenty-five thousand men in addition to it; and 3d. A bill to organize, put in training, and hold in readiness at a minute's warning, a select corps of eighty thousand militia. He seemed to think that the first and last would pass, but that the result of the second could not be so well predicted. He mentions the appointment of Mr. Jay as special minister to England, in the hope of settling all our difficulties in a temperate way by fair and firm negotiation, and that he would sail in a few days, with Mr. John Trumbell as his private Secretary; tells him also of Mr. Randolph's appointment as Secretary of State, and that Mr. Bradford, of Pennsylvania, was made Attorney General in Mr. Randolph's place. In conclusion, he alludes to "little Lincoln" (Mr. Lear's son) and his "lottery tickets," which, "poor little fellow!" he exclaims, will never be likely to build him a baby-house even; the whole Washington lottery business having turned out a bed of thorns rather than roses. He terminates the letter by telling

him that his public avocations will not admit of more than a flying trip to Mount Vernon this summer, and that this not suiting Mrs. Washington, he has taken a house in Germantown* (the vicinity of Philadelphia) to avoid the heat of Philadelphia in July and August, and that Mrs. Washington, Nelly (one of the Miss Custis's), and the rest of the family united with him in every good wish for his health, prosperity, and safe return; and he begs him to be "assured of the sincerity with which I am and always shall be your affectionate friend, G. W."

Mount Vernon, August 5, 1795. Mr. Lear had got back from England, and was now residing in Georgetown or its neighborhood. The present letter incloses him a power of attorney to vote on the General's shares in the Potomac Company, at a meeting of its stockholders to be held on the day following, in Georgetown. He says he would be there himself to vote in person if possible; but that having sent to the post-office in Alexandria every day since Friday for letters, without receiv-

* A letter from Mr. Littell has informed me that this house is still standing. It is owned and occupied by T. B. Morris, Esq., who keeps the whole, with its garden, in the best order as a consecrated spot; preserving with care the internal arrangements of the house, and its external aspect, as when inhabited by Washington.

ing any from any of the officers of the government, he might probably receive a great accumulation of them on the day following (which was again Friday, and a post day), to which he would have to give his attention and prepare answers. It was therefore that he sent the power of attorney, to meet the contingency of his not being present. This power of attorney was in his own handwriting.

Philadelphia, March 13, 1796. There are brief letters since the above that touch on private business. In this of the 13th of March, 1796, alluding to his pecuniary affairs, he says, that for the few years he has to remain here, the enjoyment of less, with more ease and certainty, will be more convenient to him, and more desirable; had his resources been adequate to it, he would have purchased the lot and houses in Alexandria which Mr. Lear pointed out; but that as his resources depended on contingencies that might baffle his calculations, he chose to tread on sure ground in all his engagements, being as unwilling to embarrass others by uncertain contracts, as to be deceived himself in his expectations.

Philadelphia, April 29, 1796. This is one of a few lines in which he requests Mr. Lear's acceptance of some garden seeds for his garden and farm.

They were portions of some sent to him from England to be planted at Mount Vernon.

Philadelphia, November 16, 1796. This relates to the sale of some of his agricultural produce, and to the disappointments he had experienced in payments promised to him.

Mount Vernon, March 25, 1797. The General is now relieved from all public duties and cares. On the 3d of March of this year he ceased to be President by voluntarily retiring from the post, after writing that farewell address which a British historian* has pronounced unequalled by any composition of uninspired wisdom. He is now a private citizen returned to his country estate at Mount Vernon on the banks of the Potomac. Mr. Lear is in Georgetown. In this letter to him of the 25th of March '97, he speaks of plans for repairing and refitting his ancient and loved home; but adds that in that rural vicinity he finds difficulty in getting proper workmen, and requests Mr. Lear's aid in procuring some from Georgetown, or the new "Federal City," as Washington at that day was usually called. Skill and dispatch would be necessary qualifications, and he thinks that his "*Old Sergeant Cornelius*" might do for one of the workmen. It

* Alison.

seems that this person had been heard of in those parts, and he adds that he would give him the preference as knowing his temper and industry.

Not long, however, is he permitted to remain a private citizen reposing at Mount Vernon amidst all its endearments. The next succeeding year finds him again summoned by his country to her service. At the eager solicitation of the government, the elder Adams then being President, and Mr. Adams' own desire being seconded by the nation's voice, he was prevailed upon to accept the supreme command of the Army during the difficulties and even quasi-war that had risen up with our old ally, France. He accepted, on condition of receiving no pay or emolument until actually called into the field. Nevertheless this conditional acceptance threw upon him burdensome duties. It exposed him to "many official calls, to a heavy correspondence, and to a flow of company." It is so he expresses himself. In this conjuncture he writes to his attached friend and faithful secretary Mr. Lear. Under date of August the second, 1798, from Mount Vernon, he describes to him those fresh duties as hinderances to putting his private affairs in that order so necessary before he embarked in new scenes; it being his desire, before quitting the scene of human action, to leave his concerns in a condition to give as little trouble as possible to those who would have the

management of them afterwards. Under this view of his situation he had written to the Secretary of War to be informed whether he was at liberty to appoint his secretary, who should be entitled to the usual and proper allowances; and concludes with asking Mr. Lear if he would join him in that capacity, if the Secretary of War answered in the affirmative. Mr. Lear assents.

This is the last letter in the series. I learn from Mrs. Lear that others not in this collection, bespeaking a high degree of intimacy and confidence, were written to her husband by the same hand. This may well be conceived when it is known that Mr. Lear's connection with this illustrious man began prior to the year '86, and continued until his death in '99; that he was at his bedside when he died, and drew up the authentic narrative, which was verified by the physicians, of his last illness, from its commencement to the closing scene. This was published at that time to meet the anxious feelings of his mourning countrymen, struck down at first by his death, as by a shock that went through every heart.

From one of the letters there dropped out, as I unfolded it, a slip in Mr. Lear's handwriting, dated May the first, 1791, containing the copy of a message to General Washington from Lord Cornwallis, of which Captain Truxton had been the bearer

from the East Indies. His lordship, whom Captain Truxton had seen there, being then Governor General of India, "congratulated General Washington on the establishment of a happy government in his country, and congratulated the country on the accession of General Washington to its Chief Magistracy." The message wished "General Washington a long enjoyment of tranquillity and happiness," adding that, for himself (Lord C.), he "continued in troubled waters."

I have thus noticed succinctly, perhaps I might more appropriately say described, these letters. In abridging and connecting the train of them, Washington's language is used to the extent that will be seen. The style is different from that of his official productions and other letters of his voluminous correspondence. He naturally stepped into one more familiar when writing to a confidential friend on family matters relating to his home at Mount Vernon, or as it was to be arranged in Philadelphia while he was President. But the style has the directness and sincerity of all his writings. It is apparent that the letters are written without reserve. With two or three exceptions, no copies appear to have been kept; yet everything is frank and straight-forward. Understanding human nature thoroughly under all its phases, he deals wisely with men in small things as in great; but

he does no one injustice. When others are acting disingenuously towards him, though seeing through it, he is considerate and forbearing, not taking steps hastily, but ready to make allowances where they could be made. Dishonesty, or suspicion of it, he never overlooks. In the second letter he suspects his steward of extravagance, in spending too much for supplies of the table kept for his upper servants; yet he authorizes Mr. Lear to retain him, if, on looking into his accounts, he finds him honest; intimating that any successor to him might act in the same way, and a dismissal might be only a change without a benefit. His reprobation of all dishonesty is seen in more than one of the letters, as well as his restrained modes of dealing with it whilst affecting only his own interests.

As regards the minutiæ seen in the letters; the details respecting his house, furniture, servants, carriages, horses, postillions, and so on, these will be read with curiosity and interest. They suggest a new test by which to try Washington, and let him be tried by it. We have not before had such details from himself. It is for the first time the curtain has been so lifted by his own hand.

All great men, the very greatest, Cæsar, Cromwell, Napoleon, Frederick, Peter the Great, Marlborough, Alexander, all on the long list of towering names, have had contact with small things. No pinnacle in station, no supremacy in excellence

or intellect, can exempt man from this portion of his lot. It is a human necessity. Washington meets it with a propriety and seemliness not always observable in others of his high cast, but often signally the reverse. In dealing with small things, he shows no undue tenacity of opinion; no selfishness; no petulance; no misplaced excitements. He never plays the petty tyrant. He does not forget himself; he does not forget others; he assumes nothing from any exaltation in himself, but is reasonable and provident in all his domestic and household arrangements.

Shall we seek for comparisons, or rather contrasts? With as much of Washington's domestic portraiture before us as these letters hold up, shall we turn to look at others? There is no difficulty, but in selecting from the vast heap.

Frederick thought coffee too expensive an indulgence for common use in his kingdom, saying he was himself reared on beer soup, which was surely good enough for peasants and common fellows, as he called his people. He wrote directions to his different cooks with his own hand, the better to pamper his appetite with every variety of the dishes and sauces he liked best. He stinted Voltaire in sugar while a guest in his palace, or gave it to him cheap and bad. He praised him face to face, and ridiculed him behind his back. Napoleon played blind-man's buff at St. Helena. He lost his

temper at his coronation, on perceiving that some of the princesses of his family who were to act as trainbearers were not in their right places. Cæsar was versed in all the ceremonials of State. It was said that he would even have been a perfect Roman gentleman, but for a habit of putting one of his fingers in his hair. Yet such a master of forms gave grave offence to the Roman Senate by not rising when they intended him a compliment; so unwise was he in small things. Cromwell in a frolic threw a cushion at Ludlow, who in turn threw one at him. He bedaubed with ink the face of one of the justices, who, with Cromwell himself, had just been condemning Charles to the block. Peter the Great travelled about with a pet monkey, which unceremoniously jumped upon the shoulder of the King of England, when the latter visited the Czar in London. Some great men have played leap-frog; some practised this affectation, some that. The book of history records, too amply, the child-like diversions among those who have flourished on the summits of power and renown. We hear of none of this in Washington; no idle whimsies, no studied or foolish eccentricities; none of the buffoonery of ripe years. They were not in him; or if they were, self-discipline extirpated them, as it did the bad ambition and moral callousness that have disfigured too many of the great names of the earth, ancient and modern; whilst his match-

less purity and deathless deeds raise him above them all. This verdict is already more than half pronounced by the most enlightened and scrutinizing portions of mankind, and time is silently extending its domain, as he is longer tried by the parallels of history, and by the philosophy of greatness itself.

Before his fame, steadily ascending from its adamantine foundation, gave signs that it was to encircle the globe, some imagined him too prudent. Some thought him devoid of sensibility; a cold, colossal mass, intrenched in taciturnity, or enfolded in a mantle of dignity. The sequel disclosed that his complete mastery over passion, moving in harmony with his other powers and faculties, lent its essential aid towards his unrivalled name. Opinion and passion were strong in him. The latter existed in vehemence; but he put the curb upon it, turning it into right directions, and excluding it otherwise from influence upon his conduct. He stifled his dislikes; he was silent under sneers and disparaging innuendoes, lest inopportune speech might work injury to the great cause confided to him. To the success of that cause he looked steadily and exclusively. It absorbed his whole soul, and he threw off none from its support capable of rendering support, no matter what their opinions of himself. The complicated dangers which encompassed it, he knew, from his position, sooner and better than

others; but he would not make them public, lest the foe might hear them, or others whose prepossessions were unfriendly; preferring that temporary odium should rest upon himself. Hence his reserve; and thus it was that the grand results of his life came out in manifold blessings to his country; thus it was that some, at first distrustful, and others long distrustful, of his superiority, came to admit it in the end. Be it added, that his native good sense teaching him the value of social restraint, and his knowledge of the world its approved observances in intercourse, the tone of the gentleman on its best models, ever also graced his public glory.

An anecdote I derived from Colonel Lear shortly before his death in 1816, may here be related, showing the height to which his passion would rise, yet be controlled. It belongs to his domestic life which I am dealing with, having occurred under his own roof, whilst it marks public feeling the most intense, and points to the moral of his life. I give it in Colonel Lear's words as nearly as I can, having made a note of them at the time.

Towards the close of a winter's day in 1791, an officer in uniform was seen to dismount in front of Washington's mansion in Philadelphia, and, giving the bridle to his servant, ascend the steps and knock at its door.* Learning from the porter that the President was at dinner, he said he was on public

* Major Ebenezer Denny, whose interesting "Military Journal" has just been published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—EDITORS.

business and had dispatches for him. A servant was sent into the dining-room to give the information to Mr. Lear, who left the table and went into the hall, where the officer repeated what he had said. Mr. Lear replied that, as the President's Secretary, he would take charge of the dispatches and deliver them at the proper time. The officer made answer that he had just arrived from the western army, and his orders were to deliver them with all promptitude, and to the President in person; but that he would wait his directions. Mr. Lear returned, and in a whisper imparted to the President what had passed. There had been dark rumors, as if coming in the wind, about that Army. General Washington rose from the table, and went to the officer. He was back in a short time, made a word of apology for his absence, but no allusion to the cause of it. He had company that day. Everything went on as usual. Dinner over, the gentlemen passed to the drawing-room of Mrs. Washington, which was open in the evening. The General spoke courteously to every lady in the room, as was his custom. His hours were early, and by ten o'clock all the company had gone. Mrs. Washington and Mr. Lear remained. Soon Mrs. Washington left the room.

The General now walked backward and forward slowly for some minutes, without speaking. Then he sat down on a sofa, by the fire, telling Mr. Lear

to sit down. To this moment there had been no change in his manner since his interruption at table. Mr. Lear now perceived emotion. This rising in him, he broke out suddenly, "*It's all over —St. Clair's defeated—routed;—the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale; the route complete—too shocking to think of—and a* SURPRISE *into the bargain!*"

He uttered all this with great vehemence. Then he paused, got up from the sofa, and walked about the room several times, agitated, but saying nothing. Near the door he stopped short, and stood still a few seconds, when his wrath became terrible.

"*Yes,*" he burst forth, "HERE *on this very spot, I took leave of him; I wished him success and honor; you have your instructions, I said, from the Secretary of War, I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word*—BEWARE OF A SURPRISE. *I repeat it,* BEWARE OF A SURPRISE—*you know how the Indians fight us. He went off with that, as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet!! to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hack'd, butchered, tomahawk'd, by a* SURPRISE—*the very thing I guarded him against!! O God, O God, he's worse than a murderer! how can he answer it to his country;—the blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!*"

This torrent came out in tones appalling. His very frame shook. It was awful, said Mr. Lear. More than once he threw his hands up as he

hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. Mr. Lear remained speechless; awed into breathless silence.

The roused Chief sat down on the sofa once more. He seemed conscious of his passion, and uncomfortable. He was silent. His warmth beginning to subside, he at length said in an altered voice: "*This must not go beyond this room.*" Another pause followed—a longer one—when he said in a tone quite low, "*General St. Clair shall have justice; I looked hastily through the dispatches, saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars; I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice.*"

He was now, said Mr. Lear, perfectly calm. Half an hour had gone by. The storm was over; and no sign of it was afterwards seen in his conduct, or heard in his conversation. The result is known. The whole case was investigated by Congress. St. Clair was exculpated, and regained the confidence Washington had in him when appointing him to that command. He had put himself into the thickest of the fight and escaped unhurt, though so ill as to be carried on a litter, and unable to mount his horse without help.

A passage from one of Mr. Jefferson's letters which the historian Sparks records, may here be given, as its spirit covers the private as well as public life of Washington. Mr. Jefferson withdrew his services as Secretary of State from the

administration of Washington towards the close of his first term in the Presidency. His retirement from that post took place when party spirit was violent and bitter in the extreme; never was it more so in the annals of our country; and it is known that he had differed from Washington on political questions of the greatest importance. Nevertheless, writing of him at a later period, Mr. Jefferson says: "His integrity was most pure; his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man." Hear Mr. Jefferson again. A few years before his death, one of his family expressed a fear that posterity might be misled by the adulatory terms in which Washington was often mentioned. It was at Monticello, on a night when the stars were out in that glory which they assume in the clear atmosphere of the Virginia mountains. Looking earnestly at a constellation which hung on the rim of the blue ridge, Mr. Jefferson replied: "His fame will go on increasing, until the brightest constellation in yonder heavens is called by his name."*

I return to his letters to Mr. Lear. In superintending his domestic affairs, these letters exhibit

* I take this beautiful passage from Randall's Life of Jefferson.

him as the head of a well-ordered family, himself the regulator of it all, under maxims that best conduce to order because not too rigid. We see that he was truly hospitable; kind; devoted to his kindred, whom he gathers around him, interesting himself in their education and welfare; cheering them with a welcome at Mount Vernon, and soothing them in sickness and sorrow. The kindred of Mrs. Washington alike share his solicitudes, paternal care, and constant kindness. All this is discernible from the facts that drop out in these letters. They point to a heart affectionately alive to the best social and family feelings. We see his attention to the comfort of his servants, slaves, and others. His government of them, upper and subordinate, appears to have been perfect, by his union of discipline with liberality. He knew that his postillions, if they slept over the stable, would carry lights there whether he forbade it or not, for they would do it when he knew nothing about it, and not tell on each other. He therefore allowed no sleeping there at all; and he gives salutary warning to the under servants when disposed to cabal. As to John's wife and "James's del Toboso," his own hand kindly encloses their letters.

I could not avoid remarking, as characteristic throughout the whole of this correspondence, that there is never any complaining of his labors. Letter-writing alone would have been a heavy

labor to him, but for his system and industry. Promptitude in using his pen there must necessarily have been, or he could not have written so much. The history of the times will show, that when he wrote these letters, he was simultaneously writing others on public business, which, as the world knows, he never neglected in any jot or tittle, no matter what else he might be doing. The domestic letters must therefore have been struck off with great facility. Let us call to mind also the more than two hundred volumes of folio manuscript of his public correspondence which Congress purchased, and then remember that the sum of all he wrote is as nothing to what he *did*, in his long career of activity in his country's service, military and civil.

Next I remark, as a new corroboration of the modesty ever so prominent in him, that not once, throughout the whole of this correspondence, does he make any, the slightest, allusion to himself, in connection with the Revolutionary War, comparatively recent as it then was. Besides that the general tenor of the correspondence might have supplied occasions for such allusions, special opportunities were at hand, while skirting the battle-grounds and other localities of his military operations in the war, even in his journeys between Mount Vernon and Philadelphia; yet they are never once made. The casual mention of his

"*Old Sergeant Cornelius*," whom he happened to want as a workman about his grounds at Mount Vernon, is the sole reference that could wake up the mind to his having had anything to do with the Revolution. He had helped to pave the way for that great event, by the influence of his high character, thrown into the scale when the early questions of resistance or submission were in agitation; he had helped it on by his attachment to constitutional liberty at that epoch, though his fortune was at stake, and friendships among the high-born and cultivated from the parent State, then among his associates in Virginia—could a bosom like his have been swayed by such thoughts; he helped it on by the special weight of name he won in arms fighting against the Indians, side by side with the proud generals and troops of Britain confident of victory, but saved from annihilation by his inborn fearlessness and superiority, when death was all around him, and dismay everywhere, in Braddock's defeat, England's glittering host breathing silent homage to their deliverer; his triumphant sword at Yorktown put the crowning hand to the immortal work—the work that founded this great nation; yet we could never infer from a word or hint in the course of these letters, from first to last, that he had anything to do with the work, except as the name of "*Sergeant Cornelius*" incidentally falls from his pen, with only a rural

object. What a lesson! Some extol themselves openly. Some do it under cover of self-humiliation, called by a French writer the pomp of modesty. Washington is simply silent; he will slide into no allusions to the closing glory of his life in the midst of temptations to it.

Finally: the charm of these letters is in their being so familiar, so out of the sphere of his correspondence generally, and therefore holding him up in lights that seem new. Mankind, long familiar with the external attributes and grandeur of his character, looking up to his vast fame as hero and statesman, uncertain which predominates, have known less of him at home with his family, his relations and his friends. The inner parts of his character, the kindlier impulses of his nature, his sympathies with those dear to him, dependent on him, or looking to him for the solace of his kindness, seem to have remained less publicly known. Mr. Sparks, in his preface to his "Life and Writings," remarks that "it must be kept in mind that much the larger portion of his life passed on a conspicuous public theatre, and that no account of it can be written which will not assume essentially the air of history." He adds, that while in his work "anecdotes are interwoven, and such incidents of a private and personal nature as are known, they are more rare than could be desired."

The synopsis of the letters which I have given,

may perhaps tend in some small degree to supply this desideratum in his illustrious life, alongside of the more copious anecdotes and reminiscences supplied by the patriotic and filial devotion of Mr. Custis. This is my humble hope.

Since the foregoing Letters were received from Mrs. Lear, she has favored me with the perusal of other manuscripts introducing us to the domestic hours of General Washington. Among them is a Diary kept by Mr. Lear at Mount Vernon in 1786; anterior therefore to the time when Washington became President. From this document I am permitted to copy a passage entire. It is dated the 23d of October, '86. Mr. Drayton and Mr. Izard, gentlemen of South Carolina, had been spending the day at Mount Vernon. After dinner, the company still round the table, Washington was led to speak of Arnold's treason, and Mr. Lear wrote down his account of it in his Diary of that day. Although history has made us familiar with that whole transaction in its essential facts, to hear it again from the lips of Washington, seems to impart to it new interest. We listen with revived curiosity and attention when such a narrator speaks. The copy from Mr. Lear's Diary, in which is recorded this interesting dinner-table narrative, is in the words following:—

"MOUNT VERNON,

Monday, October 23d, 1786.

"Mrs. Washington went to Arlington with the two children. Sent a letter directed to Mr. Samuel Storer to the post-office by Charles, who went up to town (Alexandria) with Master Thompson and Lawrence Washington, who had spent their vacation here. Mr. Drayton and Mr. Izard here all day. After dinner General Washington was, in the course of conversation, led to speak of Arnold's treachery, when he gave the following account of it, which I shall put in his own words, thus: 'I confess I had a good opinion of Arnold before his treachery was brought to light; had that not been the case, I should have had some reason to suspect him sooner, for when he commanded in Philadelphia, the Marquis la Fayette brought accounts from France of the armament which was to be sent to co-operate with us in the ensuing campaign. Soon after this was known, Arnold pretended to have some private business to transact in Connecticut, and on his way there he called at my quarters; and in the course of conversation expressed a desire of quitting Philadelphia and joining the army the ensuing campaign. I told him that it was probable we should have a very active one, and that if his wound and state of health would permit, I should be extremely glad of his services with the

army. He replied that he did not think his wound would permit him to take a very active part; but still he persisted in his desire of being with the army. He went on to Connecticut, and on his return called again upon me. He renewed his request of being with me next campaign, and I made him the same answer I had done before. He again repeated that he did not think his wound would permit him to do active duty, and intimated a desire to have the command at West Point. I told him I did not think that would suit him, as I should leave none in the garrison but invalids, because it would be entirely covered by the main army. The subject was dropt at that time, and he returned to Philadelphia. It then appeared somewhat strange to me, that a man of Arnold's known activity and enterprise, should be desirous of taking so inactive a part. I however thought no more of the matter. When the French troops arrived at Rhode Island, I had intelligence from New York that General Clinton intended to make an attack upon them before they could get themselves settled and fortified. In consequence of that, I was determined to attack New York, which would be left much exposed by his drawing off the British troops; and accordingly formed my line of battle, and moved down with the whole army to King's ferry, which we passed. Arnold came to camp at that time, and having no com-

mand, and consequently no quarters (all the houses thereabouts being occupied by the army), he was obliged to seek lodgings at some distance from the camp. While the army was crossing at King's ferry, I was going to see the last detachment over, and met Arnold, who asked me if I had thought of anything for him. I told him that he was to have the command of the light troops, which was a post of honor, and which his rank indeed entitled him to. Upon this information his countenance changed, and he appeared to be quite fallen; and instead of thanking me, or expressing any pleasure at the appointment, never opened his mouth. I desired him to go on to my quarters and get something to refresh himself, and I would meet him there soon. He did so. Upon his arrival there, he found Col. Tilghman, whom he took a-one side, and mentioning what I had told him, seemed to express great uneasiness at it—as his leg, he said, would not permit him to be long on horse-back; and intimated a great desire to have the command at West Point. When I returned to my quarters, Col. Tilghman informed me of what had passed. I made no reply to it—but his behavior struck me as strange and unaccountable. In the course of that night, however, I received information from New York that General Clinton had altered his plan and was debarking his troops. This information obliged me likewise to alter my disposition and

return to my former station, where I could better cover the country. I then determined to comply with Arnold's desire, and accordingly gave him the command of the garrison at West Point. Things remained in this situation about a fortnight, when I wrote to the Count Rochambeau desiring to meet him at some intermediate place (as we could neither of us be long enough from our respective commands to visit the other), in order to lay the plan for the siege of Yorktown, and proposed Hartford, where I accordingly went and met the Count. On my return I met the Chevalier Luzerne towards evening, within about 15 miles of West Point (on his way to join the Count at Rhode Island), which I intended to reach that night, but he insisted upon turning back with me to the next public house; where, in politeness to him, I could not but stay all night, determining, however, to get to West Point to breakfast very early. I sent off my baggage, and desired Colonel Hamilton to go forward, and inform General Arnold that I would breakfast with him. Soon after he arrived at Arnold's quarters, a letter was delivered to Arnold which threw him into the greatest confusion. He told Colonel Hamilton that something required his immediate attendance at the garrison, which was on the opposite side of the river, to his quarters; and immediately ordered a horse, to take him to the river; and the barge, which he kept to cross, to

be ready; and desired Major Franks, his Aid, to inform me when I should arrive, that he was gone over the river and would return immediately. When I got to his quarters and did not find him there, I desired Major Franks to order me some breakfast; and as I intended to visit the fortifications I would see General Arnold there. After I had breakfasted, I went over the river, and inquiring for Arnold, the commanding officer told me that he had not been there. I likewise inquired at the several redoubts, but no one could give me any information where he was. The impropriety of his conduct when he knew I was to be there, struck me very forcibly, and my mind misgave me; but I had not the least idea of the real cause. When I returned to Arnold's quarters about two hours after, and told Colonel Hamilton that I had not seen him, he gave me a packet which had just arrived for me from Col. Jemmison, which immediately brought the matter to light. I ordered Colonel Hamilton to mount his horse and proceed with the greatest despatch to a post on the river about eight miles below, in order to stop the barge if she had not passed; but it was too late. It seems that the letter Arnold received which threw him in such confusion was from Col. Jemmison, informing him that Andre was taken and that the papers found upon him were in his possession. Col. Jemmison, when Andre was taken

with these papers, could not believe that Arnold was a traitor, but rather thought it was an imposition of the British in order to destroy our confidence in Arnold. He, however, immediately on their being taken, despatched an express after me, ordering him to ride night and day till he came up with me. The express went the lower road, which was the road by which I had gone to Connecticut, expecting that I would return by the same route, and that he would meet me; but before he had proceeded far, he was informed that I was returning by the upper road. He then cut across the country and followed in my track till I arrived at West Point. He arrived about two hours after, and brought the above packet. When Arnold got down to the barge, he ordered his men, who were very clever fellows and some of the better sort of soldiery, to proceed immediately on board the Vulture sloop of war, as a flag, which was lying down the river; saying that they must be very expeditious, as he must return in a short time to meet me, and promised them two gallons of rum if they would exert themselves. They did, accordingly; but when they got on board the Vulture, instead of their two gallons of rum, he ordered the coxswain to be called down into the cabin and informed him that he and the men must consider themselves as prisoners. The coxswain was very much astonished, and told him that they came on

board under the sanction of a flag. He answered that that was nothing to the purpose; they were prisoners. But the Captain of the Vulture had more generosity than this pitiful scoundrel, and told the coxswain that he would take his parole for going on shore to get clothes, and whatever else was wanted for himself and his companions. He accordingly came, got his clothes and returned on board. When they got to New York, General Clinton, ashamed of so low and mean an action, set them all at liberty."

This closes the account. It terminates also the use I have been permitted, through the valued friendship of Mrs. Lear, to make of these manuscripts.

1858.

But I have now to add three original Letters in full, and a short note, from General Washington to Colonel Lear, which did not appear when this publication was first issued. They were given to me in 1830 by his son, Lincoln Lear, Esq., who died soon afterwards in Washington, lamented by all who knew him for his virtues and worth.

The first is dated Philadelphia, March the fourth, 1795, and has reference in part to certain improvements then going on in the navigation of the Potomac, but chiefly to lots in the city of Washington. It would seem that a question had arisen, or was

anticipated, as to what local circumstances were necessary to constitute *Water Lots* in the new Federal City; and it will be seen what care Washington took, in his superintending duty as President, lest any injury to the public property in the new city might result from the settlement of this question. In the beginning of the Letter he alludes to the off-hand way in which he writes to his acquaintances and friends.

The next is from Mount Vernon, the tenth of November, 1797, referring to an expected visit from the British minister, Mr. Liston, (Washington being no longer President,) and authorising Col. Lear to say to Mr. Liston, in the manner he mentions, that his carriage would be in attendance at Alexandria to bring the minister on to Mount Vernon at any hour he would name. Col. Lear was probably in Georgetown.

The short note is one, also from Mount Vernon, familiarly written on the thirty-first of July, 1797, when Col. Lear must have been in the neighborhood, though no place is mentioned on the outside of the note. The fact that Mrs. Washington and himself had not dined by themselves in twenty years, is an item in his domestic life his country may not be unwilling to hear in the playful way he alludes to it.

The remaining Letter, though inserted last, precedes the others in date. It is one of condolence to

Col. Lear on the death of his first wife, written in Philadelphia, on the thirtieth of March, 1796, in the warmest terms of sympathy and friendship. Mrs. Washington joins in it, adding her name to his at the close. Col. Lear subsequently married the lady from whom I received his manuscripts, who survived him forty years, as stated in the Introductory Explanation.

The Letters follow in the order as above, copied from the originals.

PHILADELPHIA March 4th 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 23d instant came duly to hand.—The letters which I write to acquaintances, or friends, are done at no great expense of time, or thought.—They are off-hand productions; with little attention to composition or correctness;—and even under these circumstances, are rarely attempted when they interfere with my public duties.

From what you have written, and from what I have heard from others, I hope Mr. Weston is on the Potomack 'ere this; and that much benefit may be expected from the visit.—He is certainly a judicious man; with both theory and practice united. —I am pleased to hear that the Locks which have been erected at the little falls have stood the test of a first trial, so well;—and this pleasure will be

increased if Mr. Weston should make a favorable report of them.—

An unlucky dispute has happened or is likely to happen, I find, between the *present* commissioners and Mr. Johnson (one of the old set)—These things, under any view in which they can be placed are extremely unpleasant, and are rendered more so when they are brought before *me*.—The points in dispute have not come before me in *detail;* the *main one*, I am told is, whether the lots adjoining Rock Creek above the stone bridge come under the description of *Water lots;* and would be so construed in the contract between the former commissioners and Mr. Greenleaf.—From what I have learnt, it is a question of some magnitude; inasmuch, as establishing a principle, applicable to that case, will have an extensive effect in favor of, or adverse to, the public property in the city.

This being the case, let me ask you, to collect the sentiments of the judicious about you, in the city and in George Town, as far as it is to be drawn from casual (at least not from forced) conversations respecting the dispute; and to inform me thereof. —You will readily perceive that it is for my *own private* information, my request to you proceeds: both the request and answer to it will then of course, be confined to ourselves.

With affect.e regard, I am y.r
sincere fr.d,

Mr. Lear. G.o Washington.

Mount Vernon 10th Novr 1797.

Dear Sir,

I have received both of your letters dated yesterday; thank you for the information given in them.

If Mr. Liston's arrangement to proceed from Alexandria to this place by water appeared *to you* to proceed from the want of carriages (for I do not know in what manner he got to the city) say to him, that you are sure mine would attend upon him at any hour he would name at that place, to bring as many of them as it would contain to Mt. Vernn.—This, however, as the presumption is that I am unacquainted with his intentions and movements must go as from yourself. Yours always and

Affectionately,

Go. Washington.

From the nature of the subject of the next Letter, and its having the joint signatures of General and Mrs. Washington, it has occurred to the Editors that it might be interesting to give it in *fac simile*, together with the note of invitation to Mount Vernon, spoken of by the Author.

Philadelphia 30 Mar: 1796

dear Sir,

Your former letters prepared us for the stroke, which that of the 25th. instant announced; but it has fallen heavily notwithstanding.—

It is the nature of humanity to mourn for the loss of our friends; and the more we loved them, the more poignant is our grief.— It is part of the precepts of religion and Philosophy, to consider the Dispensations of Providence as wise, immutable, unconvulable; of course, that it is our duty to submit with as little repining, as the sensibility of our natures is capable of to all its decrees.— But nature will, notwithstanding, indulge, for a while, its sorrows.—

To say how much we loved, and esteemed our departed friend, is unnecessary— She is not no more.— but she must be happy, because her virtue has a claim to it

As you talked of coming to this place on business, let us press you to do so.— The same room that serves Mr. Dandridge & Washington is large enough to receive a bed also for you; and it is needless to add, we shall be glad of your company.— The change may be serviceable to you;— and if our wishes were of any avail, they would induce you to make your stay here as long as your convenience would permit.

At all times, and under all circumstances, we are, and ever shall remain, Your sincere and affectionate friends

G. Washington

M Washington

Mr. Tobias Lear

31st July 1797.

Dear Sir

I am alone at present, and shall be glad to see you this evening. — Unless some one pops in, unexpectedly, Mrs Washington and myself will do, what I believe has not been within the last twenty years by us, — that is sit down to dinner by ourselves. — I am

Yr affectionate

G Washington

Mr Tobias Lear

WASHINGTON,

LAFAYETTE, AND MR. BRADFORD:

A SKETCH, IN PART FROM MEMORY.

WASHINGTON,

LAFAYETTE, AND MR. BRADFORD.

A SKETCH, IN PART FROM MEMORY.

WALKING lately down Market Street from the western part of the city, I looked about, after passing Sixth Street, for the former residence of General Washington. I thought I had discovered it, though greatly changed, in a house some half dozen doors below Sixth Street, on the south side, which still retained a little of its old fashion in front, with dentils pendent from the cornice; but on inquiry, I found that it was not. The mansion of Washington stood by itself. It was a large double house, few, if any, its equal at present in Philadelphia, the house built by Mr. Bingham in Third Street near Spruce Street excepted, though that is much cut down from its original size and appearances. The brick of the house in which Washington lived was, even in his time, dark with age, and may have been brought from England, as was then sometimes the case when the best colonial houses were built. Two ancient lamp-posts, furnished

with large lamps, which stood in front on the pavement near the street, marked it, in conjunction with its whole external aspect, as the abode of opulence and respectability before he became its august tenant. No market-house then stood in the street. To the east, a brick wall, six or seven feet high, ran well on towards Fifth Street, until it met other houses. The wall enclosed a garden which was shaded by lofty old trees, and ran back to what is now Minor Street, fronting upon which were the stables. All is now gone. Not a trace is left of that once venerable and stately residence, for it had intrinsically something of the latter characteristic by its detached situation, and the space left around it for accommodation on all sides. To the west no building adjoined it, the nearest house in that direction standing at a fair distance from it, at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets, where lived Robert Morris, one of the great men of the Revolution and the well known friend of Washington. What hallowed recollections did not that neighborhood awaken! The career of Washington, his consummate wisdom, his transcendent services, his full-orbed glory! Let no future Plutarch, said one of his biographers, attempt a parallel. He stands alone. In the annals of time, it is recorded as the single glory of Republican America to have given to the world such an example of human excellence. History has consecrated it to the instruc-

tion of mankind; and happy if Republican America shall hold to the maxims which he bequeathed to her in a Paper, pronounced by an eminent English historian, to be unequalled by any composition of uninspired wisdom.

In Holland there is still to be seen the building, small and shed-like as it is, carefully kept in its original state, in which Peter the Great of Russia lived whilst working in the naval Dock Yard at Sardam in 1697; but I could find no vestige of the Philadelphia domicil of Washington, relatively recent as was the day when his living presence sanctified it. In this city, he lived longer than he ever did in any part of the United States, his own Virginia excepted. Disappointed, almost saddened, I next turned down Sixth Street to take a look at old Congress Hall, at the corner of that street and Chestnut Street. There it still was, now used as a court-house; changed in outward appearance and still more within. Gazing upon it, I recalled a scene never to be forgotten. It was, I think, in 1794 or '95, that as a boy I was among the spectators congregated at that corner and parts close by, to witness a great public spectacle. Washington was to open the session of Congress by going in person, as was his custom, to deliver a speech to both houses assembled in the chamber of the House of Representatives. The crowd was immense considering the size of our city; for although then the

largest in the country, its population was perhaps hardly more than forty-five thousand. It filled the whole area in Chestnut Street before the State-House, extended along the line of Chestnut Street above Sixth Street, and spread north and south some distance along Sixth Street. A way kept open for carriages in the middle of the street, was the only space not closely packed with people. I had a stand on the steps of one of the houses in Chestnut Street, which, raising me above the mass of human heads, enabled me to see to advantage. After waiting long hours, as it seemed to a boy's impatience, the carriage of the President at length slowly drove up, drawn by four beautiful bay horses. It was white, with medallion ornaments on the panels, and the livery of the servants, as well as I remember, white turned up with red; at any rate, a glowing livery; the entire display in equipages at that era, in our country generally, and in Philadelphia in particular while the seat of government, being more rich and varied than now, though fewer in number. Washington got out of his carriage and, slowly crossing the pavement, ascended the steps of the edifice, upon the upper one of which he paused, and, turning half round, looked in the direction of a carriage which had followed the lead of his own. Thus he stood, for a minute; distinctly seen by everybody. He stood in all his civic dignity. His costume was a full suit of black

velvet; his hair, in itself blanched by time, powdered to snow whiteness, a dress sword at his side, and his hat held in his hand. Thus he stood in silence; and what moments those were! Throughout the dense crowd, profound stillness reigned. Not a word was heard. It was a feeling beyond that which vents itself in shouts. Every heart was full. In vain would any tongue have spoken. All were at gaze, in mute admiration. Every eye was riveted on his majestic form. It might have seemed as if he stood in that position to gratify the assembled thousands with a full view of the father of their country. Not so. He had paused for his secretary, then I believe Mr. Dandridge or Colonel Lear, who got out of the other carriage—a chariot—decorated like his own. His secretary, ascending the steps, handed him a paper—probably a copy of the speech he was to deliver—when both entered the building. Then it was, and not until then, that the crowd set up huzzas, loud, long, and enthusiastic.

I return to Market Street. On the north side of the way, nearly opposite to General Washington's residence, lived William Bradford. He was among the most gifted men Pennsylvania has produced, an honor and ornament to the State. Cut off in the year '95 at the early age of thirty-nine, in the midst of public honors and usefulness, his memory is still fondly cherished by those who had the good

fortune to know him. He was an able lawyer. More than this: his mind, by its enlargement, was able to rise to the vantage ground of jurisprudence, and survey its broadest principles, as the noblest of human sciences practically applicable to mankind. Amongst the testimonials of so expanded an understanding, was his treatise on capital punishments; a work written at the request of Governor Mifflin, and intended for the use of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in the nature of a Report, when that subject was first under consideration in that body. He had, before that time, been Attorney General of Pennsylvania. To abilities of the first order as a lawyer, he added the accomplishments of a scholar and orator, the zeal of a patriot, and the virtues of a man and gentleman. Such qualities did not escape the notice of Washington, proverbially correct in his insight into the characters of men; and accordingly, on the advancement of Mr. Edmund Randolph to the office of Secretary of State, he called Mr. Bradford to the post of Attorney General of the United States. He was married to the daughter and only child of the Honorable Elias Boudinot, a distinguished citizen of New Jersey, a patriot of the Revolution, and one of the Presidents of Congress during the Confederation. This estimable pair won upon the esteem of the Washington family; and the official intercourse which Mr. Bradford necessarily had with the Presi-

dent, was followed by their both becoming participants, not merely of the dinner hospitalities and drawing-room entertainments of their illustrious neighbors, but the sharers of a social intimacy more endearing as well as gratifying. At that memorable epoch, the French Revolution was raging. Its first shocks seemed to be unhinging the world. Its magnificent promises and early deeds of freedom, the romantic and triumphant valor of millions of armed Frenchmen in that cause, who rushed to battle under the inspiring chorus of the Marseilles Hymn; with all the horrors that came afterwards, were natural and frequent topics at the fireside of Washington; and no single incident among the group of events, was ever called up with more intensity of interest than the doom of Lafayette, then a prisoner in the dominions of the Emperor of Austria.

One evening, when Mr. Bradford was there, and no company; none present but the family circle, consisting of the General, and Mrs. Washington, his private secretary, with young Custis and his accomplished sisters; and the conversation going on with the wonted dignity and ease of that illustrious circle, the sufferings of La Fayette again became the theme. Washington, as he dwelt upon them, in contrast with the former fortunes and splendid merits of Fayette in our cause, and recalling scenes also that awoke anew the warmth of his friend-

ship for him, became greatly affected. His whole nature seemed melted. His eyes were suffused. Mr. Bradford saw it all; and what a spectacle to be witnessed by a man whose own bosom was open to every generous impulse! If the great Condé, at the representation of one of Corneille's tragedies, shed tears at the part where Cæsar is made to utter a fine sentiment, what was that, in its power to stir the soul, though Voltaire has so emblazoned it, to tears shed by WASHINGTON over the real woes of LAFAYETTE! Washington—a nation's founder, and Lafayette, his heroic friend, who had crossed an ocean to fight the battles of liberty by his side? Tears, tears they were, fit for the first of heroes to have shed!

Going home in the pensive tone of mind which a scene so moving, at the fireside of Washington, had created, Mr. Bradford sat down and wrote the following simple but touching little stanzas, the off-hand gushings from the heart of a man of sensibility and genius.

As beside his cheerful fire,
  Midst his happy family,
Sat a venerable sire,
  Tears were starting in his eye;
Selfish blessings were forgot,
Whilst he thought on Fayette's lot.
    Once so happy on our plains,
    Now in poverty and chains.

THE LAMENT OF WASHINGTON.

Fayette, cried he, honored name!
  Dear to these far distant shores,
Fayette, fired by freedom's flame,
  Bled to make that freedom ours.
What, alas! for this remains,
What but poverty and chains!

Soldiers on our fields of death,
  Was not Fayette foremost there?
Cold and shivering on the heath,
  Did you not his bounty share?
What reward for this remains,
What but poverty and chains!

Hapless Fayette! midst thine error,
  How my soul thy fate reveres;
Son of freedom, tyrants' terror,
  Hero of both hemispheres!
What reward for all remains,
What but poverty and chains!

Born to honors, ease and wealth,
  See him sacrifice them all;
Sacrificing also health,
  At his country's glorious call.
What, for thee, my friend! remains,
What but poverty and chains!

Thus with laurels on his brow,
  Belisarius begged for bread;
Thus from Carthage forced to go,
  Hannibal an exile fled.
Alas! Fayette at once sustains,
EXILE, POVERTY, and CHAINS!

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The distinguished visitor of the illustrious family circle, yielding to the flush of his feelings, had ventured, so far, to express, in his own form of metre, the lamentation heard from the lips of Washington. Warmed by the theme, and giving way to the hope of Lafayette's final liberation, he closes with the following invocation to the suffering prisoner and exile, in a strain hopeful and animating:—

Courage, child of Washington!
Though thy fate disastrous seems,
We have seen the setting sun,
Rise and burn with brighter beams.
Thy country soon shall break thy chain,
And take thee to her arms again.
Thy country soon shall break thy chain,
And take thee to her arms again!

It must be borne in mind that the foregoing lines were not written for publication. The publication, however, may now well be excused as historically bringing to light, from the sleep of half a century, the incident which they embody from the domestic hours of Washington; for will not Americans forever welcome, with increasing reverence and affection, whatever may be new to them in the domestic life of the great founder of their empire? The lines were the impromptu outpouring of a feeling mind impressed with the scene of moral beauty and deep pathos, which he had just witnessed. As far as I know, they have never been in print before. Private copies passed from hand to hand

at the time they were written; and sometimes they were sung, with the accompaniment of the piano or harp, to the plaintive dirge composed on the occasion of the execution of the Queen of France, current in Philadelphia circles after that melancholy tragedy. It is known that Washington continued to the last to manifest a keen sensibility to Lafayette's situation; nor did he content himself with passive regrets. Our ministers at European courts were instructed to avail themselves of every proper opportunity for expressing the interest which the President took in his fate; and to employ the most eligible means in their power to obtain his liberty or mitigate his hardships. When he was transferred to the dungeon in Austria, the autograph letter which he finally wrote to the Emperor of Germany to procure his liberation, though it failed of its purpose at the time, will remain as a model of dignity and high feeling, proclaiming to crowned heads how harmoniously friendship and humanity can be made to blend with the duties of chief magistracy, when their just voice was uttered by Washington.

This sketch would be more imperfect than it is, without a few concluding words of one of the personages belonging to the group. The widow of Mr. Bradford still lives, in an ancient town on the banks of the Delaware, a beautiful relic of the days here recalled; her house the abode of hospi-

tality as abundant, as it is cordial and elegant; and fourscore years and more, not having impaired the courtesy, the grace, the habitual suavity and kindness, or even that disciplined carriage of the person, all made part of her nature by her early intercourse, and the school in which she was reared; for if Portia, speaking of herself as Cato's daughter and wife of Brutus, could exclaim, "Think you I am no stronger than my sex, being so *fathered* and so *husbanded?*" it may be permitted to us to say of this venerable lady, once of the Washington circle, and being "fathered and husbanded" as we have also seen, she could not be other than she is.

SYDENHAM,
1846.

CHARACTER

MR. CALHOUN.

MR. CALHOUN,

LATE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"If I could have but one hour more to speak in the Senate, I could do more good than on any previous occasion of my life."

THESE were among the last words of Mr. Calhoun. How appropriate to a patriot and statesman as the lamp of life was going out! We cannot know precisely what Mr. Calhoun would have said in that last hour, but we are sure he would have spoken with sincerity what he thought, and with love of country in his heart. This great American statesman has passed away; and his death recalls points in his character of which it is the highest praise to say they were like Washington's. Washington did not flatter the people. Nor did Mr. Calhoun. Both loved Republicanism, but knew that men individually are prone to error from passion, ignorance, and other causes; and that communities speaking and acting through majorities of men, must often be in error. Mr. Calhoun was never

afraid to express this sentiment or act upon it. If Washington had not put himself against popular error on the subject of the militia and short enlistments, it may be doubted whether he could have carried us through the Revolution, incomparable as were his achievements as a soldier, and statesmanlike as were his counsels to Congress from its commencement to its close. The Revolution over, his fame overshadowed all competition; but he could hardly be prevailed upon to accept the Chief Magistracy of the Union. He yielded at last only to the unanimous voice of his country. As President, party never swayed his conduct. Mr. Calhoun, though belonging to a party, rose above it.

Of all Americans, he was among the few not carried away by the great shock in Europe in 1848. That our citizens should have given the French Republic a cordial first welcome, and that both Houses of Congress should have done the same, was natural; but in his place as Senator, in the midst of enthusiasm for France, Calhoun paused. He did not believe that by suddenly "proclaiming" Republics, they were to be made. He knew that change was not always for the better, and when too rapid could scarcely be good. He knew all excellence to be of slow growth, with nations as persons; that it comes of patience, education, and long training. His mind, full of light, inferred that such quick convulsive movements in the other hemi-

sphere must be the work, with rare exceptions, of a few selfish or deluded men in some places, and, in others, of what Lord John Russell called, in the House of Commons, "a society of circulating revolutionists." The real masses, he believed, would be placed by so violent an overthrow of existing things in a worse condition than they were before. He saw also that these suddenly "proclaimed" Republics were totally different from ours. His knowledge of the Constitution of the United States, and every thing that led to the establishment of our Republic, taught him this. He believed that the inherent tendencies of Republics starting into life instantaneously, were to disorder. He feared their deteriorating influences upon us. More especially did he fear it from our predisposition summarily to applaud all movements against existing authority in Europe, no matter what their nature, or who their instruments. He appreciated too much the immense value of our own institutions, to behold without grief the danger of disparagement to them by the odium likely to be brought upon Republics through the abuses of that word abroad.

Mr. Calhoun's ambition was of the noblest kind. Beautifully did his colleague say, in announcing his death to the Senate,* "We saw him a few days ago in the seat, near me, he had so long occupied; we

* Mr. Butler.

saw the struggle of a great mind to overcome the infirmities of a sinking body: it was the exhibition of a wounded eagle, with his eyes turned to the heavens in which he had soared, but into which his wings could never carry him again." The figure was happy and touching. No man was more pure; rarely a public man as pure. He had the self-reliance of genius, without a particle of arrogance.

When, as a Democrat of the Jefferson school, he entered Congress before the War of 1812, he soon opposed himself to embargoes and non-intercourse, as weapons unsuited to our people for preventing or redressing wrongs and insults. Yet they had been the policy of his party. To arraign it was hazarding his popularity. He was then young, just entering into political life. He did, however, arraign it, promptly and openly. He was for drawing the sword against the gigantic mistress of the seas. The step was perilous. It was even daring; although, weighing our inherent resources, if we would draw upon them, a step which his enlarged mind told him was as due to a true estimate of our interests, as it was imperiously demanded by outrages upon the national honor. His speeches in support of the war lifted up the feelings of the nation. They never contained impassioned words, but always strong thoughts. His mind was destined to lead. His erect form at that day, his fine eye, his constant energy and buoyant spirit, blended

with a personal courtesy intrinsically attractive,—who that remembers all this can fail, now that he is gone, to exalt to the proper height his manly bearing and devoted patriotism? He did honor to Carolina. He was one of the props of the Union. The times were dark. Britain was our foe; her formidable armies were upon our shores, fresh from victory over Napoleon's troops in Spain. Some among our friends quailed, and hosts of our people, fair in character and rich in means—especially in the cities—were against us. The vindication of the national rights fell upon the Middle and Southern States—the new-born West co-operating; the latter limited at that time in population and resources. The North, in their corporate capacity as States, although there were splendid individual and local exceptions, protested against firing a gun. The South stood up for the whole Union. Comparatively, she had scarcely a ship to be plundered, or a man to be impressed, and Calhoun never faltered. His fidelity to his country's rights, and exertions in her behalf, were unremitting. The elder Dallas called him a young Hercules. He largely helped to teach the public how to think, by the frank expression of his own thoughts at that trying epoch. Nor did he ever disguise his thoughts. His great competitor of Massachusetts, Mr. Webster, magnanimously made this declaration in the Senate last month.

The war ended, he assumed, at the call of President Monroe, the direction of the War Department. In that post, his administrative abilities proved to be of the highest order. His brilliant career in the Senate since, has been so eloquently portrayed by his great associates of both parties in that body, and by speakers in the other House of Congress, when his death was announced, that inferior hands are warned not to touch upon it. Nor is there any need to dwell upon his dignified incumbency of the Vice-Presidential office, or the ability with which he used the pen while Secretary of State.

His whole public life was in harmony with his nature. A paramount principle of duty was ever present to him. He sought public ends by means varying as facts varied and time rolled on. In forty years; in an age of ceaseless activity; in the complications of policy and legislation incident to the shifting wants of a young and rapidly growing country, teeming with production, and still new to many of the schemes and operations of national industry, Mr. Calhoun may be found the advocate of opinions which he afterwards saw cause to modify, alter, or abandon. So among his illustrious compeers in the Senate you might have beheld all around him those who had been tariff and anti-tariff in opinion and conduct; bank and anti-bank; strict constructionists and latitudinarians. The difference is, and may here be adverted to not in-

vidiously, that he ended for free trade; the principle to which the most prosperous nations would seem to be more and more inclining, though conflicting facts have hardly yet put at rest the conflicting theories. And he ended a strict constructionist of the Constitution; the doctrine which time and our expanding confederacy seem more and more to sanctify as the only doctrine for giving stability to the Union.

We do not design in this imperfect sketch to approve of all the opinions of Mr. Calhoun, though we might be slow to condemn some that others may have condemned; but we think his death a public loss at this juncture. Jefferson loved him, Madison loved him, Monroe loved him. The two latter confided in his counsels. All three honored him. Nor is it that we have been deprived of his talents that his loss is alone to be felt. Talents, and great talents, are never wanting in the world. We have them here in abundance. In France you cannot count them up. In Britain, in Germany, in Prussia, in all great countries, they are exuberant. Not so resolute integrity and honor in public men. It was Washington's supremacy in these that placed his fame upon its matchless pedestal. It was his uniform supremacy in these, at all times and under all circumstances, which caused a gifted Frenchman to exclaim in 1848, that "THE WANT OF THE AGE WAS A EUROPEAN WASHINGTON." The talents of

Calhoun could be matched; but not so easily the strength and steadiness of his virtue; not so easily his exemption from all that was underhand; not so easily his repudiation of all truckling as the price of his own exaltation.

A few concluding words. Our material prosperity has been amazing. Is it as certain that political morality increases in our country? There are those who anxiously ask themselves that question. The widening arena of contests for the Presidency; the passions, intrigues, disappointments and exasperations, they stir up under our rapidly augmenting population, making the prize more tempting, and incalculably increasing the competitors for it,—these things are enough, without other foreshadowings, to start solicitudes to the bosoms of the reflecting. If there be cause for solicitude in all or any of these omens, let every occasion be improved for striving to avert it. Let Calhoun's death be one of them. Let our young men imitate his moral course as the best public safeguard. A great country is to be in their hands. Its institutions, its freedom, its past and prospective renown, open a magnificent future. But not if subordinate men with cunning minds bear sway. This, in the end, would undermine it for all that is highest, purest, and most lasting; for all that is truly great in nations. And this would happen, though our fields might continue to produce their crops, our workshops their fabrics, our sea-

ports their ships and steamers, our mines gold, and our population indefinitely to increase.

The Senate has resolved that, at the call of his family, the remains of Mr. Calhoun are to be removed to his native State for interment. They will be in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, as specially appointed to that solemnity. A deputation of Senators will form the solemn escort. In that State repose the ashes of the Marions, the Sumpters, the Laurenses, the Gadsdens, the Pinckneys, the Lowndeses, the Rutledges—these are of her honored dead. The ashes of Calhoun will mingle with the sacred heap. Like Germanicus, he departed in life to return in death; and as the ashes of the great Roman were borne back to Italy, so Calhoun's to his beloved Carolina. Mourning crowds will await their approach. The widowed partner of his heart will be in their thoughts, deepening the general gloom—as when Agrippina bore the urn of Germanicus. But let her, let all, take consolation in the thought, that his tomb will be as a shrine, at which the youth of Carolina and the nation, may reanimate the patriotism and virtue which his life illustrated.

LETTER

TO A COMMITTEE OF INVITATION FROM THE DISTRICT OF PENN,

IN THE COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA,

REFERRING TO

THE QUESTION OF AFRICAN SLAVERY,

AND

THE COMPROMISE ACT OF 1850.

LETTER

ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

SYDENHAM, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY,
2 November, 1850.

GENTLEMEN:—

Your kind invitation of the 30th of October, on behalf of the Democratic citizens of Penn District, to attend the celebration in honor of the success of the Democratic cause in this county and State at the late election, has been received. I regret that I am deprived of the satisfaction of assembling with you by a previous engagement; but as festive celebrations like these are apt to be made the occasion of expressing political sentiments, I would frankly have expressed some of mine, had I been able to assemble with you.

It is of the slavery question I would have spoken; for this has become a question which absorbs, at

present, all others in importance. I am of those who think that our Union has been in danger from it; not a visionary danger worked up in the heated fancies of a few ultras at each end of the Union, but real danger. The question has such deep roots, that the "Compromise Act," however good as far as it goes (and for one I would have voted for it), can never cure the bitter dissensions and menacing aspects it has been long engendering. That act, framed amidst complicated difficulties, and supported by the ablest men of both parties, Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Cass, and others in Congress, must be followed up by mutual concession and forbearance; above all, by the faithful performance of constitutional obligations. Our Union is otherwise gone. It is not good speaking, good writing, or an array of the advantages of the Union, however powerfully put forth, that will be likely to save it much longer. It must be saved by deeds, to be done and abided by. I would have alluded, had I been with you, to the sentiments lately expressed by Mr. Justice Grier, of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the fugitive-slave law. I would have approved them with my whole judgment; and in this connection I would have asked permission to mention a case that came under my knowledge nearly forty years ago.

When Judge Washington was on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and hold-

ing, as such, a Circuit Court in Philadelphia, he lost one of his slaves. He had run away, and was supposed to be in Philadelphia. I was at that time Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. It was not long before the War of 1812. Judge Washington sought my aid, in the legal steps under the State laws for recovering his slave, and I afforded it. The slave was recovered. There was nothing more than a brief hearing before an Associate Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of this county. No popular clamor was raised. It was a simple question of evidence under the Federal Constitution. Did the slave belong to Judge Washington, and had he absconded? Both points being settled in the affirmative, the owner recovered him, and the decision was acquiesced in as a matter of course.

But mark the difference since that era. Nobody supposed that Judge Washington was a bad man or a bad citizen. Like his immortal ancestor, he owned slaves.* He treated them justly and kindly. General Washington liberated his by will, as other Southern slaveholders have done, and the number who would do the same would probably be greater, if the Northern people would abstain from interference. The South were the pioneers in forming the Colonization Society. They organized, they put it into operation, that they might be able to

* He was the nephew of General Washington, and inherited Mount Vernon.

send their emancipated slaves to Africa, in the hope of achieving a great good. The distinguished and upright Judge Washington was its first President. Mr. Crawford, another distinguished Southern man, was, I think, its second President; and Mr. Clay, also of the South, its third. But again mark the difference. Mark the strides of intermediate aggression upon the South. Witness the Northern clamor, not only since the recent fugitive-slave law passed, but for ten or twenty years anterior, when a Southern owner has ventured to follow up a claim for his absconding slave. Men of the North, otherwise good citizens and good men, have long been sanctioning, if not urging, resistance to the claim, until it has almost reached the verge of treason. Yet the claim rests on the same constitutional obligations as when Judge Washington made good his claim in Philadelphia. Who that reflects upon this course towards the South can fail to see that their rights are disregarded? And are philanthropists of our day superior, as pure men, as wise men, patriotic men, to Washington and his great associates, the Franklins, Adamses, Madisons, Jeffersons, Hamiltons, Jays, with the sages in their train, who signed or approved the Federal Constitution with all its sanctions, that of African slavery among them?

The historian of the downfall of this Republic, if doomed to premature downfall, will point to the

emancipation by England of her West Indian slaves, as the epoch when the Northern hostility to holding Africans in bondage in the Southern States, first assumed its active inveteracy. England took this step twenty odd years ago, paying to the owners of these liberated Africans in her islands, twenty millions of pounds sterling as a compensation for the loss of their property. As a citizen of the Middle States, I have desired to avoid the bias of North or South; to view this slavery question as from middle ground; to view it as an American, on national ground; and to view it, internationally, as between the United States and Europe. This international phase of the question which has worked itself into our feelings, has been helping to hurry us into rash extremes of opinion and conduct. We hide it from ourselves too much. In its nature it is affronting, and merits emphatic notice, if only brief notice.

When it was my lot to be in Europe as Minister, proud of the country in whose name it was my privilege and duty to speak, regardless of geographical or party divisions, nothing weighed upon me more than the errors with which I found the question of African slavery in this country so invariably surrounded. These errors, if not produced, were always reinforced and extended in that hemisphere, by acts proceeding from our side of the water. The Red Republicans of France, men ignorant of

the first maxims essential to political liberty in popular government as we understand them, even they, in the first ecstasies under the sudden liberation of their African slaves in the West Indies after the revolution of '48, could yet rail, and did rail, at African slavery in America. And they could, and did, cite American publications, too often one-sided and inflammatory, to give color to their sarcasms.

Let us ask ourselves what claim France has, or England, or any part of Europe, to shape our conduct upon this subject; to denounce it as incompatible with the alleged freedom of our institutions. Let us try these lessons coming to us from abroad by a pertinent test. Are we not predisposed to bring into view the vast value of our own political system? Do we not like to dwell on our rapid advances under it; our vast strides into prosperity, opulence, and power? Would we not, in some sort, wish to exclude all European interference from this continent, that the blessings of our system may the more surely pervade all parts of it? Do we not sometimes imagine it to be our mission finally to overset, by our example, other forms of government, that our better ones, as we think them, may stand in the place of theirs, marked by injustice, exclusiveness, and the oppression of the masses? It is not to be concealed that our tendencies are to indulge in this kind of self-complacency, and European disparagement.

Now, let us keep in mind that it is the imperial and royal governments, and those sharing their sympathies, who put themselves against African bondage in the United States; and that they do the same against our democratic government. Most of them hate it. Some of them would wish it destroyed. None of them like it. We do not allow them to dictate to us in government. The bare thought rouses us. Why, then, are they to guide our opinions, influence our conduct, or waft over for our amendment their lacerated sensibilities at the fact of Africans being held in bondage here? They know as little of its bearing upon the interests and obligations of our country, as they do of our political institutions. Can we forget the attack made a few years ago in England by a public man, in a public speech, upon the American Minister in London, a distinguished Southern man, because he owned slaves?* These efforts by our own people to bring about abolition in the United States becoming known in Europe, through exaggerated facts and misplaced commentaries upon them, by aggravating the animosity between the Northern and Southern States, are doing their work towards undermining the very foundations of our democratic government. The inference seems natural. Should the overthrow of our Union be helped on by this kind of European

* Mr. Stevenson, who was so attacked by Mr. O'Connell.

influence, Europe will be prone to believe that our democratic forms have failed. Their failure, we may presume, would cause little sorrow with hereditary governments, or any governments upholding privileged classes; and neither with these, nor with the people living under them, would our political creed be likely to gain much in future should this great Union fall.

England forced upon us the importation of slaves from Africa. We strove to prevent it while colonies, but could not,—England objecting. The race came over here from a terrible state of existence in Africa: a condition cruel and barbarous beyond description. The three millions of the race now in the Southern States have risen in the scale of human beings in a period incalculably short, when we consider how slowly the characteristics of a race change. This could only have come about through good treatment of them. I visited Mr. Madison at his estate in Virginia just before he ceased to be President. Slaves had descended to him from his father. I rode with him over his estate. I saw them at their various work and in their quarters. I saw how well clad, well fed, well lodged, they were, and how contented they appeared. The sick were attended to, the aged and infirm exempted from labor and made comfortable; and I saw every sign of attachment in them all to their excellent master. More recently I was in Maryland. There, too, on landed

estates,—some large, some small,—worked by the same race, scenes much of the same nature came under my observation; and I could not repress the wish that enlightened people of the North could behold similar scenes, so numerous in the Southern States, and witness the tone of manners, hospitable intercourse, and good habits going hand in hand with them, in the proprietors of such estates. It might serve to dispel many of the unfounded opinions now entertained of our Southern brethren. All ought to bear in mind how the industry of this race, in their improved aggregate condition through Southern instrumentality, has aided in augmenting, beyond all power of safe computation from the magnitude of the items, (cotton chiefly,) the resources of our country, where all are parts of a grand whole. The North have their abundant share, and have had from the first, in the wonderful results. Good results they may become to mankind at large, if our example in government is to go for any thing among nations. To the Africans themselves the results may eventually prove beneficent.

Even while I write, the newspapers are stating that a generous bequest has been made by a Southern man, the late Mr. McDonough, of New Orleans, in aid of the Colonization Society; the funds of which have hitherto been enriched chiefly by Southern contributions. Through that Society many liberated Africans have already got back to the land

of their progenitors, and many more may follow; not only improved and civilized themselves, but diffusing rays of civilization throughout that continent. Such, at least, I am sure was the hope of those who founded that Society. But deplorable under all views will be the result, if this noble Union is to be dashed to pieces by the spirit of abolitionism. Happily, there are found in the North patriots of great intellect and fame, who, with just feelings towards the South, go on striving to ward off that great calamity.

These are some of the sentiments I would have expressed had I been able to be with you. In my absence, please to accept them in this form. The answer I send to your invitation must be taken as a proof that I value it; and much the more as coming from those with whom I have been long living in amity and good neighborhood.

I pray you, gentlemen, to accept for yourselves and those whom you represent, assurances of the respect and cordiality with which I am

Your fellow-citizen and friend,

RICHARD RUSH.

To Messrs. JOHN S. NICHOLAS, GEORGE ESHER, and others,
Committee of Invitation.

SPEECH

AT THE MEETING OF

THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION,

HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 21, 1850.

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SPEECH

AT THE MEETING OF THE

FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION,

HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 21, 1850.

It is with some reluctance, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, that I rise before you. I have been little accustomed of late to address meetings of this size; and you have already been addressed by those more competent to the task, and will be addressed by others. I declined being one of the regular speakers, although honored by a request from the committee to that effect, desiring to come here as a listener only; but I cannot refuse myself to your call. With you entirely in feeling, I will not withhold the contribution of my voice. To the resolutions I need not speak specially, for already they have been well explained. We are assembled to-night not so much to convince each other of the excellence of our cause,—for of that I assume all here are satisfied,—as to strengthen each others' convictions, to animate each other in feeling; so that when we separate, each may labor in his own

way with but the more zeal in support of the cause. This I understand to be the great object which has brought us together. Our cause is national, the cause of both parties, of all parties, the paramount cause of the CONSTITUTION and the UNION. I rejoice at such a meeting as this in this great city. I rejoice that we are adding our example to others elsewhere set of similar meetings.

I call this a great city; and so it is, if we only count numbers; but we may claim something more. Events of which it has been the theatre in American history make it memorable in the eyes of the Union. Some of them are well alluded to in one of the resolutions. Yes, fellow-citizens, in '76 we were the first city of confederated America in population, trade, and finance; but we have still more pride in saying that here assembled, from the thirteen old Colonies, that noble band from whose unconquerable spirit of freedom the great charter of Independence issued. Here it was declared. From this city it was first proclaimed to the nations of the earth. It fixed their attention by its boldness, and could have been ventured upon, in face of the vast power in arms against us, by none but a race trained to freedom, and knowing how to assert and secure it. But that deed, transcendent as it was, might have been of no value, might have turned out worse than useless, but for the Federal Constitution which followed.

It is known to us all that from the close of the bloody struggle of seven years to the adoption of that constitution, we had fallen to the lowest point of depression. Internal prosperity, we had none; respect from abroad, we had none. Portentous clouds hung over the future; the hearts of our people were beginning to sink; disappointments came over all, the more bitter from hope having been so high; and for a while it seemed as if no blessings, but the reverse, were to flow from our triumph in arms over Britain. The government which held us together whilst fighting, utterly failed afterwards. The war over, that government proved no better than a rope of sand, to which it was often likened.

Then assembled, also in this city, from the thirteen States that had won the great battle, another band of patriots and sages, with Washington at their head. From their wisdom, experience, and long-tried devotion to their country, the Federal Constitution came into being. In that consecrated building close by us, in the shady walks of the ancient elms that surrounded it, were carried on from day to day, from month to month, the anxious consultations and discussions, which ended in establishing the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. As a political fabric entire and complete, combining the federative with the national principle, complex in its parts, yet harmonious in their operation, it would hardly be

going too far to say that that great work, all things considered, has never perhaps been equalled by human hands. Do not let me seem to exaggerate; I desire to say only what judgment would approve. The Declaration of Independence, bold, deliberate, inevitable, as it was, only threw into being the disjointed parts of a great nation. It was the Constitution that cemented them together.

If, fellow-citizens, I had with me here to-night a volume of the "Federalist," I would dare to encroach upon your time by reading a few short passages from some of its earlier numbers. In looking into them lately, I was struck beyond expression at their applicability to the discussions going on at this immediate juncture. I paused in admiration at the force and beauty of language descriptive of the evils we suffered under the old Articles of Confederation, and of the advantages which the new Constitution could scarcely fail in securing to us. In this connection I will ask your permission to relate an incident, occurring when I was Minister to France. M. Guizot was then Prime Minister of the French Government. Being Minister of Foreign Affairs also, I was brought into frequent intercourse with him. I need hardly say to you that he is reputed to be among the most profound of living statesmen; many think him, as for one I also do, among the purest. I once had a conversation with him about the "Federalist." It took place in his parlor.

Portraits were hanging there; among them one of his own sovereign, Louis Philippe; one of Washington; and one of Alexander Hamilton. It was while looking at the last that we were led to speak of the "Federalist;" and I was delighted, though not surprised, to find him perfectly familiar with the work. Our conversation finished with these remarkable words from him, for I afterwards wrote them down as well as I could recall them: he said that "*in the application of elementary principles of government to practical administration, it was the greatest work known to him.*" See the scope of thought, the just analysis, the able criticism, compressed in these few simple but comprehensive words! *The greatest work known to him*, under the views he indicated. Think of the value of this homage. Known to *him*, perhaps the best-read statesman in Europe, who was at the same time engaged in the highest public affairs in a great nation; to *him*, a daily debater, an able debater, perhaps the most *able*, in the French Chamber of Deputies, at that time abounding in able men!

To give this tribute from such a source, the more application to our meeting of to-night, let me recall to your recollection the great purpose of that work. Its sole end and aim, from first to last, is to explain the provisions, enlarge upon the advantages, and pronounce the sober eulogy, of the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Indulge me in saying something more of this

justly-famed work. It was the production, with slight exceptions, of those two master minds in our history, Hamilton and Madison, each of whom had so largely helped to form the Constitution. Not ephemeral statesmen were these; not of the class extolled when their party is uppermost, and dropping into oblivion afterwards; no, they were not such men. They were men of the highest order of intellectual power; men observant of the present as it was before them, instructed in the past, and therefore the better enabled to estimate the future; men fitted to found systems of government, by their ability to penetrate into the permanent wants and interests of communities. This praise from M. Guizot to the authors of the "Federalist," is but a portion of the exalted testimonials to the work,—a single tribute, though high and precious; the intelligent and reading public, wherever the work is known, have long since put upon it the stamp of their lasting approbation.

These two great men, Madison and Hamilton, differed widely on points of public administration, whilst acting together so cordially and usefully in the vast work, the difficult work, at times almost the hopeless work, of forming the Constitution. Let those assembled here to-night imitate their high example in this respect. However we may differ on various points of our public policy, let us all rally round the Constitution and the Union.

Here is a basis broad enough for all to stand upon. May it prove one of adamant.

I have claimed, fellow-citizens, as proud memorials of our city, that here Independence was declared, here the Constitution formed. Here also was prepared Washington's Farewell Address. Here came forth that immortal document—immortal, for should the Union be destroyed, that document will survive. It will survive to fill with pain our bosoms and those of our descendants, that the Union was ever allowed to be destroyed. Reconstructed it never could be. If, fellow-citizens, all that has accrued to us of prosperity and renown since the Union was formed; if the success, almost incredible, which under its powerful wing we have had as a nation in the grand aggregate of our affairs, no matter what errors or deficiencies, ingenuity and partial discontent may be able to invent or even fairly to state; if all this and more be insufficient to rouse us in support of the Union, let Washington's parting advice do it. Let that bind all hearts together. He helped to form the Union; he took it, as the best and wisest step possible for us; he took it—he would have fought, he would have bled for it. But, himself of the South, he took the Union and the Constitution with their full sanction of the rights of the South.

Fellow-citizens, I feel that already I have been trespassing upon your time; yet I feel that I cannot

sit down without obtruding upon you one more personal recollection. Born here, I have a boy's remembrance, dim in some things, vivid in others, of the "Federal Procession" in this city in '88, to celebrate the adoption of the Constitution. A great day it was, for it was also the 4th of July. I have seen coronations since, and other pageantry, abroad, but they made not the impression upon me which that day made. The procession passed along our principal streets; those at least then built up with lines of houses. It commenced from South Street. Moving up Third Street, it went northward to Callowhill Street. Passing through other streets, Market Street among them, it finally turned off to Bush-Hill, one of the country-seats of William Hamilton, then rural and beautiful in all its scenery and appearances, now covered with compact streets and squares and houses. Such details may be mentioned to a Philadelphia audience, who now only know their city as going westward over what was then the romantic Schuylkill, and northward, almost reaching Frankford, on the Delaware. At Bush-Hill the procession halted. There, on an extensive lawn, gently sloping downward in front of the mansion, the festivities of the day wound up, amidst the firing of cannon, bands playing, sports, good cheer, and all other manifestations of national joy. In the salons of the hospitable proprietor, tables were spread for his friends and guests

There, after the procession had passed through the streets, we beheld from the steps and windows of the mansion the whole grand spectacle as congregated on the lawn.

The procession embraced all trades and arts, printers working at their craft, farmers guiding the plough, troops in the uniform worn in the battles of the Revolution, a temple with emblems conveying the Judges, banners, glittering domes, and I know not what besides. More than all, there was a SHIP. She was equipped man-of-war fashion. She had her commander, lieutenants, midshipmen, a seaman heaving the lead, a pilot on board, and all complete. Canvass painted to resemble the sea, dropped almost to her water line, and so nearly touched the streets as to hide the machinery that moved her. It looked as if the wind did it. What reflections crowd into the mind of the patriot now looking back upon that procession! What a sight that ship for a boy! How emblematic it was of our boundless commerce at present, as you heard it stated by our distinguished first speaker to-night, the late Vice-President of the United States. And those stars and stripes at her mast head—how did they prefigure our naval glory! How foretell the deeds of those gallant spirits who, in our few frigates, won victories over the mighty flag of Britain, such as no nation had ever won from her before! The Decaturs, the Stewarts, the Biddles,

the Burroughs's,—I name only those of our own Philadelphia, not going on with the list; how prophetic of all this, was the part of the procession I am recalling!

The name of the ship I thus beheld moving as if by enchantment, was the UNION. It was the glorious name, seen waving in the air in her flags, and placed in letters of gold upon her stern. Was not this enough to make Union men of all? The feeling ran through my boyish veins, grew stronger in manhood, and has been a settled conviction in riper years. At all times, fellow-citizens, under all circumstances, at home and abroad, in peace and war, under all Administrations, Republican or Federal, Whig or Democratic, let us rally round the Union.

LETTER

TO

WILLIAM H. TRESCOT,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

UPON PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC SUBJECTS.

LETTER TO MR. TRESCOT,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

ON PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC SUBJECTS.

SYDENHAM, NEAR PHILADELPHIA,
March 31, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Your favor of the 23d would have been sooner acknowledged, but that the season was upon us here when those whose home is on a few acres in the country, are apt to be called off by their small, rural occupations. This was my case when your letter got to hand, but I now find myself at leisure to write to you.

The pamphlet you were so good as to send me, entitled "A few Thoughts on the Foreign Policy of the United States," written in '49, and printed for private distribution, came with your letter, and it is with peculiar interest that I have read it. It takes enlarged views of this constantly expanding field of our public affairs, and some of them are very striking by the independent turn of thought they exhibit. It is so I regard the production. Not confining myself to its mere acknowledgment,

I will, with your permission, venture to go a little into some of its points. The subject at any rate offers some variety, from the discussions on home topics which have been so largely absorbing us all of late.

Taking up, for this occasion, only one of your points, I must say, that the manner in which you unfold the policy of harmony between ourselves and England, and even of concerted movements if necessary, merits, in my opinion, much attention. The latter policy is not new with us, but has been acted upon, and usefully, in a memorable instance, to which I will refer before concluding.* The objects, time and manner of applying such a policy, would always be under the safeguard of our own approval. It would therefore be free from danger; and I can conceive of conjunctures when its application might give hope of advantage to both countries, if not of being useful to other countries. We have arrived at a point in time when the magnitude and quick succession of new events, arrest the attention of all. New developments among nations, and new geographical relations opening between oceans and continents, are not simply extraordinary, but must become in many respects revolutionizing upon the intercourse, interests, and opinions of mankind. Vast changes, at hand, must

* See p. 157, and note to p. 158.

necessarily affect some of the rules of our political conduct. Sooner or later, we shall have to review former opinions. We are part and parcel of Christendom, and it is no longer possible that a great nation like this can be *wholly* detached from the movements of Christendom, lest we should get into "entangling alliances." This was a wise rule when we would have been the weaker party. Then, concerted movements of any description might have been improper. Amidst the agitations of the present, and uncertainties of the future, in Europe, where can we so well look as to England for national characteristics, intermediate between arbitrary systems of government on one side, and those ideas which would topple down all government on the other? What other nation is so near to us in the great attributes of national and individual freedom, or runs so parallel with us in the prosperity resulting from both, as Great Britain? Certainly no other.

As to mutual interests, I imagine that our dealings with Britain and her dominions exceed considerably, in amount and value, those we maintain with all the rest of the world put together, France and her dependencies included, though I have not examined the latest statistical reports under this head. The commercial interest has become a recognised element in the calculations of nations. Great Britain and the United States are the repre-

sentatives of that mighty influence, becoming still mightier as it more and more sweeps away the small remnants of feudal influence. Why therefore should not two such nations, the one confessedly foremost in this respect on the American continent, the other actually so (of all European nations) on the Asiatic continent, together discuss, and if possible together arrange by joint counsels, if seen to be reasonable, commercial and other intercourse; discuss the principles belonging to such intercourse; not like advocates, pressing logic beyond its just limits in the hope of gaining advantage, but like great umpires, conscious of mutual strength, as of mutual interest? One of your remarks which I have here repeated in your own words, assures me that you will confirm this sentiment. Long ago has public wisdom taught, that the prosperity of nations is linked together, each being apt to prosper the more, as all prosper. In concerted operations with England, it might fall to our lot to be auxiliary to the interests of other countries for the common benefit.

But my dear sir, few among us, I imagine, would find the predominating numbers of our countrymen prepared to look with favorable first impressions on the policy you suggest and so well explain. We have become too powerful. So it would be thought. Through our freedom, industry, boundless command of fertile lands, and the happy adaptation of

our institutions to the character, habits, and interests of our whole people; through these, as the great impelling causes for drawing out an exuberant prosperity, our population, riches and power have been augmented rapidly and prodigiously. It would be nothing strange, but rather a little excusable, if it produced in us moments of patriotic intoxication. If our increase in the past has been prodigious, it baffles calculation in the future. Of our present power we are naturally proud, and it has increased proportionably our confidence in ourselves. England is powerful too, but we think her less so than she is. These twofold considerations render it unlikely that we would be willing to share with her a policy aiming to counteract influences among any of the great continental powers of Europe, however far they might stretch Absolutism on the one hand, or run into Red Republicanism on the other; or to concert with her, measures for any other purposes.

So long also have we been accustomed to regard England with suspicion, and to look to France as our true connection in the other hemisphere, if any connection we are to have there, that these feelings have become political habits with us. We should scarcely know how to change them. New phases in the political horizon, some visible, others approaching, to recommend to our dispassionate consideration new and different feelings, might not at

first be seen. An impediment more powerful is to be taken into the account. It is the more liable to mislead, because soothing to our strongest national feelings. We are beginning to count upon our own supremacy on the water. Our thoughts lift themselves up to supremacy in other things sooner, it may be, than we shall acquire it in all things, even upon this continent. In these miraculous days of steam, and electricity, and material advancement otherwise, in ways never expected or dreamed of, "progress" is not confined to ourselves, amazing as ours has been. Other nations have caught its spirit. Especially is England imbued with it; and, in conjunction with the increasing liberality of her legislation and sagacity of her policy, is making full profit of it in carrying forward her resources and strengthening her dominion, at home and abroad. She sees what the age is doing, and is harnessed for the race. She bounds forward in spite of all supposed or real drawbacks upon her. In some things she leads; as in establishing a great system of ocean steamers, suited to commerce and war; and in cheap postage, which we have copied from her, and will improve upon, I hope. I do not mention other things; but all who watch what she is about, may perceive that she is alive to the new age with all its requisitions upon enterprising and energetic nations. She knows also that mere numbers do not always constitute the sole element in

national strength any more than in national wisdom.

Moreover, the opinion spreads among us since our power became manifest, that it is now more than ever our allotted destiny, through the overshadowing influences of our example, to change the governments of the world. Instead of "all nature's difference keeping nature's peace," the wish appears to be growing upon us to behold all *nations* alike—all like ourselves. But is it reasonable to suppose that all governments will ever be alike, any more than that the earth will be overspread with only one plant, though it were wheat, for example—the very best of them? Your views on our foreign relations and policy, my dear sir, open a large field, and I should not do you justice unless I held them *all* up as treated in your pamphlet. It is also the field least susceptible of being closely inspected, and is least accurately explored in point of fact, of any other falling within the usual scope of thought and inquiry among our people. The foreign relations of all countries lie more out of sight from general view, than home concerns, and are less studied, because less apt, at first, unless under extraordinary conjunctures, to affect the immediate or perceptible interests of a people. What I very much like in your discussion is, that, whilst in its general drift it is awake to the changes of the age, it does not exclude, as an element in reasoning, truths in govern-

ment that never change, no matter what may be its external forms. Another good quality must commend it to all; namely, that you avoid all "frightful confidence," as a French writer calls it, in assertion or opinion on subjects intrinsically devoid of certainty..

Turning then to your letter, weighing with it the general matter of the pamphlet, and having more immediate reference to your suggestions respecting England and ourselves, I would take the liberty of saying, as you do not at all seem to have made up your mind to write more, proceed with the discussion—amplify and enforce it as you could do from your attainments and power of applying them,—were I not somewhat checked in such counsels at present by incipient signs of some totally new feelings into which we seem to be sliding towards England.

Scarcely do I know how to portray the novel feelings to which I have allusion, but will touch upon them. In the day of our comparative weakness, we had a feeling of uneasiness towards England. It was prone to think evil; and, from many and obvious causes, was largely a harsh feeling. It never rose to fear, but was anxious and brooding, from the sense we had of her power. At the present era, the consciousness of our own power, appears to be creating an insensibility to hers. The change, so far, is intelligible, to whatever extreme it may have gone. But the new

position towards her at which we have arrived in regard to that great test among nations, their power, seems to be bringing in its train another new feeling, even a new doctrine, hitherto as strange. The more strange is it, as the very reverse might rather have been anticipated with the ascending influence of the American name. We would throw her off altogether as our parent stock. We would strike at the very root on which so majestic a political fabric has been raised by us in this new land! In portions of the Middle States, in parts of the great West, and in the North-West, a doctrine is started, yes, truly, a doctrine is occasionally started and struggles to peep upwards, that we are *not* of the Anglo-Saxon race! This, at first blush, may seem incredible. Indications of it may not have reached you at the South; but so it is. How much farther the notion is to go, what new shapes take, how much more of history is to be changed into fanciful and novel shapes for its sake, and for what ends, passes my comprehension, as it probably will yours.

Some of the causes of it may be easily read. Others I need not recount. That the English are a mixed race is true; and so much the better for them, as Macaulay has forcibly pointed out in some of the best pages of his history. That Scotland and Ireland are of her home empire, all know. That from these portions of it we had large num-

bers of our people during and before the Revolution, of the highest ability and merit, as well as those of German and Dutch ancestry, and of French, from the Huguenots, is also true; and equally true that the great American family has been strengthened and enriched by subsequent incorporations into it from these and other sources. It was so that Rome attained her final grandeur. But that the charters of the thirteen original colonies which founded this great nation were all derived from England; that Independence was declared in the English language; that *that* is the language of the nation, its laws, literature, state papers, journals of Congress; of those who sit in its judgment-seats; of all the records of its wonderful colonial growth and importance, as Burke truly, philosophically and gorgeously described both, in his imperishable speeches; the language which embalms the immortal story of our Revolution, with Washington at its head, himself of full English descent; the language which its other heroes and sages spoke, and the rich treasures of which formed their minds, taught them to think, and supplied them with the most effective of all their intellectual weapons, for arguing down the exercise by England of arbitrary power over us, more, far more, than Grecian or Roman authors, who so often side with power against right; that it is the language in which goes the word of command to our army

and navy, and embodies the general orders after victory—such facts belong to the past, as well as that we inherit trial by jury from the English, the habeas corpus from the English, and the great elements of the English common law. The solid, effulgent memory of all, cannot be obliterated. They belong to the past. The retrospect of them is the richest that any people under heaven have ever been able to claim as establishing their origin, and stamping the causes of their stupendous advancement in so brief a period of time. England, no other race; England, with her host of famous men, in genius, science, letters; in hardy, persevering, and bold enterprise; in a high spirited sense of independence and freedom; famous in peace, famous in war; famous all over the globe, by sea and land, before we were founded—this England, with her wide circle of faults, wider of glory,—is the true parent stock of this great nation, deny it who may; and that she *is*, will stand out in all time as her greatest glory of all. I pass from the seeming digression, though it may probably strike you as not irrelevant to the subject in hand to us.

No part of your effort has drawn more of my attention than the part about Cuba. This question, from whatever point surveyed, is, as you intimate, beset with difficulty. I think with you, that the immense shipping of England, her commercial interests and sympathies, her long-existing Gulf settle-

ments, and her adjacent interests in the West Indies, entitle her to a reasonable share of our attention on those subjects. To such considerations, as you unfold them, I would emphatically add, that the day of dread of her power of aggression upon us, has gone by. But would the popular voice of our country permit this counseling with England, although we retained, as of course we should retain, the right of decision in our own hands? Our jealousy of her is not at an end, however able we now may be to counteract its injurious effects, should she meditate any; and it is the popular voice which, whether hastily or deliberately uttered, will henceforth, and more and more as our power increases, decide without appeal these and other great coming questions in our foreign policy, before the Executive or Congress can consider them. That voice will be likely to proclaim absolute American ascendency in this gulf, as on this continent and its adjuncts. With its present predispositions, it would probably listen to no participation with England. It would distrust her motives. It would underrate her present power, and turn with incredulity from those sources of it which, in the opinions of her own intelligent and ruling people, promise to give it increase for long periods to come.

These are some of my impressions. You may not share them with me. I, indeed, might incline to say, as you also perhaps might, why should two

powerful nations, each knowing its own power, and each in possession of its independence and circumspection, distrust each other? It is for the weak to be jealous and fearful. The strong are neither. Or why should two nations like the United States and Britain, in their altered attitude to each other, continue to quarrel in their thoughts, because they have been twice at war? Why should we fear any joint movement with Britain? Is it because we would aim to do wrong, or claim too much for our share in the counsels? I am unwilling to believe it. We shall inevitably have enough of territory, influence, and every thing else, as time goes on, if we keep together. Is it because her government differs in its constitutional forms from ours? Would this be wise? Surely we cannot imagine that she will overturn ours. Our noble institutions of freedom, with all their preponderating excellence, nevertheless intermingle with them defects interwoven with the works of man. Our well-founded national pride, running to the borders of too much self-exaltation, couples itself with an insensible proneness to disparage nations whose institutions are unlike our own; and chiefly do numbers among us give themselves to the belief that England is an impoverished, sinking country, yet always thinking of mischief to other countries. Some of our presses —strange to say—would have it, that the "World's Fair," soon to open at her crystalline palace in the

Park, that imposing scene of the industry and genius of modern nations, to be concentrated in peaceful rivalry within her metropolis, and of which she has given the first example in modern times, is only a contrivance to hoodwink mankind and save herself a little longer from ruin, by collecting money in London for the benefit of her own impoverished and taxed people! How to reconcile apprehensions that she may injure us, with a belief that she is tottering under burdens too much for her to carry, and that she cannot cast off, would seem not an easy task. But I must separate myself from such topics, lest I should be running into dissertations.

I must by no means omit to remark, that the difficulty of practical arrangements to any just and guarded extent, between ourselves and Great Britain in regard to Cuba, the Gulf, and parts adjacent, would be augmented by the great question of the day, one still deep-rooted and angry,—I mean that of African Slavery among us. Of the true nature of this question, as one exclusively internal to ourselves, England is as ignorant, as we in general are of her home affairs, perhaps more so; yet she decides upon it even more confidently, than we do on things belonging to her internal condition and prospects. But this need not check concert between us on occasions more free from embarrassment, should any such arise and give hope of good results.

At your request, I send with this letter the

copies of the political essays transmitted after receiving your first pamphlet, but which it appears did not reach you. I send also, for your indulgent acceptance, the second volume of a work published by me a few years ago, where you may see, in the places indicated on a slip of paper, notices of the first attempt in our diplomatic annals towards international co-operation, on our part, with England against other powers. This is the instance to which I have heretofore referred. [*Ante*, page 144.] The object was highly just, and the result sufficiently successful, though not under the forms proposed, owing to a single impediment at that time existing. The main proposal was, and its first suggestion came from the English Foreign Secretary (Mr. Canning) to the Minister of the United States in London, I then being in that capacity, that the two powers should make a joint declaration before Europe, to the effect that if the Holy Alliance, after overthrowing the then existing constitution in Spain, established by the people under the auspices of the Cortes (which ultimately they did overthrow by the instrumentality of a French army), attempted, by force of arms, or force of influence, to arrest the progress of emancipation and independence in the Spanish colonies on this continent, the two powers would put themselves against so arbitrary a project. The project was stopped effectually. England would have stopped it herself, but sought our co-

operation; and the knowledge by the Allies that if things had proceeded to extremity, such co-operation would have been afforded, was doubtless of full value in raising a bar to the least attempt at such a course. There will also be found in the same book a condensed history of the celebrated "Monroe Declaration" on the subject of European interference in the affairs of this continent, put forth in the Message of President Monroe to Congress in 1823.

In conclusion, I pray you, my dear sir, to believe in the cordial consideration and esteem with which I am

Your faithful servant
and correspondent,
RICHARD RUSH.

NOTE.

Mr. Canning was unwilling to comply with the condition proposed by Mr. Rush, that Great Britain would "unequivocally and immediately acknowledge the Independence of the Spanish American Colonies," as a preliminary to Mr. Rush's concurrence as American Minister, in a "*joint declaration before Europe*" by the two powers. The history of this proposal by Mr. Canning to Mr. Rush is given in authentic detail in the 21st and 22d chapters of the 2d volume of his Residence at the Court of London, pages 412, 443. After a lapse of now nearly forty years, with the subsequent history of those colonies, it may not be without interest to recall the narrative of the interviews of the two functionaries. In presenting this condition to the English Foreign Secretary, Mr. Rush acted without instructions. In

his despatch to the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, giving an account of the proposal of Mr. Canning, in his note of the 23d August, 1823, Mr. Rush uses this language: "Should I be asked by Mr. Canning, whether, in case the recognition be made by Great Britain without more delay, I am on my part prepared to make a declaration, in the name of my government, that it will not remain inactive under an attack upon the independence of those States by the Holy Alliance, the present determination of my judgment is that I *will* make such a declaration explicitly, and avow it before the world. I am not unaware of the responsibility which I should by such a measure assume upon myself." In thus being the interpreter of his own powers, Mr. Rush had the satisfaction to receive subsequently the approbation of his government. His despatches — transmitted in quadruplicate—reaching the United States in time to engage the deliberations of President Monroe and his Cabinet before the meeting of Congress, in December, 1823, may have had their just influence in producing in the President's Message, the celebrated "Monroe Declaration;" the condensed history of which is given in the same volume, chapter 23, pages 455, 460.—EDITORS.

SECOND LETTER

TO

WILLIAM H. TRESCOT,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

UPON PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC SUBJECTS,

WITH REFERENCES TO THE COURSE OF THE UNITED STATES AS A NEUTRAL POWER AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS UPON THE OCEAN DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

SECOND LETTER TO MR. TRESCOT.

SYDENHAM, NEAR PHILADELPHIA,
May 3, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I have received your letter of the 26th of April, and will reply to it at once.

In a review of diplomatic history, should you undertake such a task, a division into the three periods you indicate—1st, from the peace of Westphalia to the peace of Utrecht; 2d, from the peace of Utrecht to the peace of Paris in 1763; 3d, from the peace of Paris to the present times—would unfold a large plan, full of matter highly interesting in international affairs.

The third period would be the most important and stirring. Parts of it fall within the personal knowledge of many still living, and the easy researches of all. It comprises startling revolutions among nations; the most formidable operations of war, with results the most momentous by land and sea; and the most wide-sweeping transactions in diplomacy of the last century and early part of the

one in which we live. Under this period, opportunity would open of doing justice to our country for the part it took in the cause of neutrality; and also of recalling an outline of our achievements in arms, that ultimate negotiator to which we were finally obliged to have recourse. Without recalling these achievements, the spirit and compass of our diplomacy could not be adequately illustrated. The two, together, give us a marked place in history, had we done nothing else. The subject is ample and inviting. It is remembered only partially among ourselves; and I am somewhat tempted by the opportunity your letter affords, to say something more of it than would otherwise be necessary, in the possible hope of being able to create in your mind some little inducement to go into it all yourself. I must do this at the risk of perhaps not always saying what you may concur in,—a risk I had to run in my former letter; but my errors may start truths to you, and I will knowingly fall into none of fact. It is only by recalling facts in connection with principles that justice can be done to this young Republic.

From the commencement of the wars of the old French Revolution, and earlier, the state papers of the United States which aimed at upholding the fair rights of the neutral flag, and thus maintaining the domain of commerce and civilization, would probably form, were all collected and arranged, the best international code under this head to be found,

in any one volume extant of the same compass. The increase of our tonnage during these wars, was very great. In addition to our large exports and imports, for we then manufactured but little, we took the lead of all nations in an immense carrying trade. This greatly exposed our merchant vessels in all seas to high-handed molestation in all ways. Besides the heavy outrages we received from the first French Republic; outrages within our territory and ports as well as at sea; there was the British "Provision order" of June, 1793;* the French consular and imperial decrees of Berlin, Milan, Bayonne, Rambouillet; the British orders in council issued and re-issued; the application of their old rule of '56;† vast nominal blockades, half the world over, by England, and the enforcement by France of the "continental system," so called, of Napoleon—both alike desolating to lawful commerce; the impressment of our men by England, with her deeply aggravated attack upon our frigate Chesapeake in time of peace; each nation striving, as if in the rivalry of belligerent fury, which could wrong us the most —all these, and more than these, made up the violations, indignities, and losses to which we were exposed. To settle, as between these two great

* An order of the British government which declared *provisions* to be among the articles contraband of war.

† The rule which prohibited to neutrals trade with British colonies in time of war, not open to them in time of peace.

nations, the proportion of belligerent aggression against us, would be extremely difficult. Altogether, they brought us into a position to stand up for the neutral cause, and we became foremost in that championship for not much less than a quarter of a century while the world was in arms. It was a most eventful epoch. Many of the liberal principles which had been gaining head under maxims inculcated by a long list of pure and able publicists, and the consent of nations, were beaten back by the fearful height to which the war passions of Europe were roused. These for a time swept away all reason and justice. A ruthless law, the law of force, or "retaliating force," as it was often termed, usurped their place, seeming to portend the entire extinction of reason and justice among the nations of the earth.

Yet, in 1814, when Napoleon was first struck down, the great Allies took no notice of us in their treaties of peace and settlement at Vienna, multitudinous as those documents were, and comprehending almost all other subjects between nations. Not one word of intercession had we from any one of them. In regard to our situation, they all became mutes. We had gone to war against England single handed. The war was still raging. Nevertheless, they left us to be crushed by her enormous power; for her undivided strength by sea and land, was now free to be used exclusively

against the United States. Such was the condition of things. Events flowed from them among the most striking that have ever occurred between nations. To portray them fitly, might tax the ablest pen. The calm retrospect of them, now that the passions and partisanships of that day are over, seems like the marvels of history.

The European Alliance left us, I have said, to be crushed. This they must have believed. This inference was forced upon them, when they looked only to the overwhelming preponderance of British naval power. Consider what it was! Not only did it preponderate to an extent making all numerical comparison absurd, over any *we* had in a state of equipment, but over that of all Europe combined. Still, it was absence of all wisdom in those continental powers, either through fear of offending England, or dislike to the principle of our government, coldly to stand aloof from us. Most especially was it so in France and Russia. We were fighting for the just freedom of the seas. We were fighting their battles as well as our own. We were fighting them with a more sterling and well directed courage, with a superiority of skill, and, as it turned out, with more effect, than ever marked any, the greatest, of Napoleon's battles or most splendid of his campaigns. Let not this be called American boast. Rather let facts be recalled.

The very act of our going to war was heroic.

No language could be too strong in describing it. We were to fight against incalculably more odds than ever Napoleon did. We went out upon the deep with only a sling in our hands. We went upon the deep against a foe that it might have been thought would at once consign all our ships to its dark caverns. That foe had vanquished French ships wherever to be found, brave as the French ever are, until all their ships were captured, sunk, or had to seek shelter from destruction by running into their own ports. This was their sole refuge. Not one of them could venture any more upon the ocean, singly, or in fleets. Not another gun could Napoleon mount at sea, with all his vast power on land. A similar doom had awaited the navies of Holland, Spain, and all other nations. The idea of our coping with England, even elicited sarcasms in the House of Commons. Canning, in one of his speeches, alluded to our flag as "*that little bit of striped bunting.*" Not only did we begin our war after Napoleon had exhausted, to no purpose but disasters to himself, his resources and efforts against England; but there was more to appal us, had *that* feeling been in us. He had drawn upon the whole maritime border of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, among European nations of the continent conquered and tributary to him (and which among them were not?), to aid him in ships and seamen to go against England on the seas, or invade her in her island.

All these were scattered or demolished. England had driven them all back to port, or made wrecks of them. Duncan at Camperdown, Howe on the 1st of June, '94, Nelson at the Nile, Cochran in Basque Roads, Parker at Copenhagen, Nelson again at Trafalgar,—these names recall vividly, but only in part recall, the destruction which the naval thunders of England dealt among her foes, wherever it was possible for her to assail them. Never before was there such havoc on the sea by one nation against all the rest. All had yielded in hopeless submission to that one. For warlike purposes, it is not too much to say that Europe was annihilated upon the seas. The banner of the United States, alone, floated in solitary fearlessness. Lastly, we began the fight with a navy which was as nothing in size to the French navy, when Napoleon first had the direction of it against England. When then, in all time, were such odds seen as we had against us? I am unable to remember anything like it.

And what was the progress, what the issue, of the contest upon the great highway of nations, as we maintained it, after the daring manner in which we went into it? Instead of our ships of war, few in number as they were, being driven from the seas, as Napoleon's were, they increased in number as the war went on. They increased in the activity of their service and brilliancy of their victories. They

were in all seas. They ran down to Cape Horn. They scoured the Pacific. They were all over the Atlantic. They went into the West Indies and the East Indies. Skilfully avoiding the enemy's fleets, they hunted up his single ships. They watched in their paths. They entered the British Channel. In all latitudes they sought this gigantic foe on his own element. They strove to be foremost in the attack. They encountered him ship to ship, with a chivalry, with a perfection of discipline, with a constant superiority in gunnery,* and with a success utterly before without example by any other nation in the world. In vain did he plead that our ships were heavier than his. Sometimes they were. In some instances it was the reverse. In others *his* were not merely subdued, but shot to pieces and sunk, in an almost incredibly short time. Glory then to this young and dauntless nation, which, relying upon itself alone to vindicate neutral rights, while Europe with folded arms was waiting to see it sacrificed, speedily and triumphantly broke the terrific spell of English invincibility upon the ocean.

The result riveted universal attention. Britain had ruled the waves. So her poets sang. So

* This is fully admitted by Major General Sir Howard Douglass, in his "Treatise on Naval Gunnery," a book of high authority, published with the approbation of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in England.

nations felt; all but *this* young nation. Her trident had laid them all prostrate; and how fond was she of considering this emblem as identified with the sceptre of the world! Behold, then, the flag, which had everywhere reigned in triumph supreme, sending forth terror from its folds—behold it again, and again, and again, lowered to the stars and stripes which had risen in the new hemisphere. The spectacle was magnificent. The European expectation that we were to be crushed, was turned into a feeling of admiration unbounded. Our victories had a moral effect far transcending the number or size of their ships vanquished. For such a blow upon the mighty name of England, after many idle excuses, she had at last no balm so effectual as that it was inflicted, and could only have been inflicted, by a race sprung from herself.

Here let me say, that no one in our whole nation did more towards infusing into Congress the lofty tone that led to these memorable results, than your Mr. Calhoun. Congress was backward at declaring war, from the terrible odds against us, and the out-door belief, almost universal except among our naval officers, that we could not face England. Calhoun went with the very foremost of those patriotic and high-spirited men in both houses who were for throwing the nation upon its courage and its sword. Happen what would, they knew we should not be dishonored in battle; whilst ignoble

submission was sinking us as a great people. We began to build ships of the line as the contest drew to a close, our energies rising with the contest. On the lakes, we had only fleets of small size. England, to meet us there in like fleets, sent over through the Canadas the frames of vessels, and her naval officers and men. There, also, our victories, in each instance where the fleets met, were alike decisive and resplendent, though won with great loss of blood on both sides for the numbers engaged.* But the matchless deeds of our frigates and sloops of war on the ocean, did more than was ever done before for the neutral cause; more than was done by the famous "Armed neutrality" of 1780. Turn to the account of that maritime league, one of mere words, which England disregarded, and see how little it achieved, compared to American ships at this glorious maritime epoch for America. As to the "Armed Neutrality" of 1800, England shivered that to pieces in a day with her naval cannon.

Equally true is it that Napoleon was blind to our naval efficiency and capabilities. It was perhaps the greatest of his mistakes. He judged us from our having no ships of the line when the war began, though even then we had a larger commerce

* In the engagement on Lake Erie, Barclay, the British commodore, a gallant officer who had served under Lord Nelson, having the wind at first, bore down on our fleet with the bands of music on board his ships playing "Rule Britannia."

and tonnage than any nation but England, perhaps double of all that France had; and who does not know that commerce and tonnage create navies? He ought to have remembered this, and, in connection with our established aptitudes for the sea, to have drawn the proper conclusions.

Napoleon seemed ignorant that to keep up a large navy in peace was no part of our system. Our co-operation with him, had he sought it in time, and on terms to which a spirited nation could have assented, would have been of more consequence to him than any one of his European alliances. We were the only nation to make head against England at sea; and England was the nation that, by her exhaustless resources for war by herself, for sometimes she was left alone; her subsidies to other powers; her indomitable courage; her leadership of the combinations against him, and perpetual defiance of him, while Russia, Austria, and Prussia, each in turn cowered or rushed into his embraces; England, by never giving up, but always fighting on and inciting other powers to go on with the fight—caused his empire to come down with a crash. He never did anything for neutral rights. He never cared anything for them. His iron grasp was at ubiquity of dominion. England stood in his way. England was the barrier against which all his hatred, all his array of power, all his bulletins, all his threats, were in vain. His efforts

for her downfall, under plea of restoring the liberty of the seas—for this *was* among his pleas—efforts that overleaped all international law in his treatment of us upon the seas, ended in his own downfall, leaving England, in effect, at the head of Europe, and himself borne to his exile in an English ship. So ended the great war drama of those days. It closed like a mighty epic, full of bloody grandeur—nations, kings and principalities its characters, the globe its theatre.

But *we* had no downfall. We rose. In looking back upon our share in the battles, they seem like the romance of real war—the consummation of its triumphs upon the waves. Nor can I quit this part of the glowing theme without adding, that the martial beauty it has forever imprinted on our shield, is enhanced by the signal courtesy with which our victors invariably treated the foe when the battle was won.

Call to mind, also, what our diplomacy has always been striving to do in other fields, new until we entered them, for the interests of humanity and the right kind of progress among nations. Besides our early treaty with Prussia for the abolition of privateering, you will find, page 576 of the book sent to you, the proposals this nation has made to all maritime nations, for ABOLISHING ALL PRIVATE WAR UPON THE OCEAN. This goes beyond the abolition of privateering. It aims at tying up the hands of GOVERNMENTS from

becoming plunderers of private property on the high seas. The effect of adopting the principle would be, that NATIONAL ships could no longer capture merchant vessels engaged in lawful trade, though belonging to one of the belligerent parties.

Bear in mind, also, that the nation making these proposals to all other nations, had been able, with her national ships and letters of marque, to capture twelve or thirteen hundred British merchant vessels during our short war of 1812. Hence, we were not likely, in the long run, to be the losing party among nations, had we stood upon the base calculations of rapacity fostered by privateering, and the capturing of merchantmen by national ships. It is a vicious old principle, the relic of a barbarous age. It has not for a long time been acted upon by armies on land. These do not make war on private property; but the barbarity has been kept up at sea in a spirit little better than that of the buccaneers; no better, even *worse*, considering the intermediate advances in civilization and refinement. Neither England, nor France, nor, as far as I am informed, any other nation, has yet acceded to these our beneficent proposals. They originated in Mr. Monroe's time, while Mr. Adams was Secretary of State.*

* It will be seen from this review, that the propositions of the American Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy, upon this important question of maritime law, presented to all Maritime Nations by direction of President Pierce, as mentioned in his Annual Message

On page 465 of the same volume you will also find, briefly mentioned, the manly homage which that eminent English statesman, Mr. Canning, when Foreign Secretary, and who was not thought to have been over-friendly to us at earlier periods of his life, ultimately paid in Parliament when the war was past and gone, to some of our neutral doctrines. These doctrines were first essentially laid down by Mr. Jefferson, in his able and rich compositions prepared when Secretary of State to Washington, and under his sanction, in regard to our foreign relations. They were afterwards more fully maintained and extended in the numerous state papers, and masterly as numerous, from the pen of Mr. Madison, during the eight years he filled the department of State under Mr. Jefferson's Presidency. They are doctrines that will probably receive more and more approbation from all nations, as time goes on and continues to bring with it, as we may reasonably hope, further meliorations to the code of war. They are as replete with international wisdom, as with American dignity and spirit. It was their persevering resistance to the encroachments of England and France; above all, it was

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of December, 1856, were in harmony with the enlarged and humane views and aims of this Government at an earlier day, and formed a prominent topic of discussion in our Convention with Great Britain at London, of 1824, in the time of President Monroe.—EDITORS.

their immovable stand against impressment; their noble reiterations that our flag should sacredly protect all who sailed under it; it was these great state papers which finally opened to us our path of glory upon the ocean; a glory the purer, as it blazed up only in defending ourselves against long continued and enormous wrongs. Come what may in the future, we can never be deprived of this inheritance. It is a proud and splendid inheritance. We owe lasting gratitude to the illustrious men of that early day of the republic, Jefferson and Madison, who (after Washington) were the primary sources of it. It has been my lot to know them both, but chiefly the latter, of whose Cabinet after he became President, I was the youngest, humblest, and now am the only surviving member; and I fulfil a grateful duty in here recalling their high merits, linked, as they ever must be, to the fame of this great nation. Their counsels refounded the nation. Until the war of 1812, we were still half colonial. Its issue conferred upon us a new and commanding position. Until then, we were in danger of losing the glories we had gained in the Revolution. It was even alleged that the absorbing spirit of commercial gain had at length broken in upon our martial characteristics of that era. The war corrected the mistake. Mr. Jefferson took upon himself to reject, without even submitting it to the Senate, the treaty negotiated

by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney, in 1806, solely because it contained no stipulation against impressment, although sufficiently satisfactory at that time in other respects. Our ministers first sent to England after the war, were fully instructed to let her government know,* that any attempt in future to renew it, although the question was not brought into the treaty of Ghent—the practice having ceased by the general peace—would immediately be resisted. But who can suppose, after the events of that war, so unspeakable an outrage upon us would be repeated? It was that very outrage, combined with the special remembrance of the attack on the Chesapeake in perpetration of it, that turned the war scale against England rather than France. The latter had done enough to justify our going to war with her. According to her means, she had captured more of our vessels than the English. She would even consume them by fire upon the ocean, cargoes and all, fearing that, as her ill-gotten prizes, British cruisers would intercept them if she attempted to send them into her ports. But who, I again ask, who can dream of England ever renewing the outrage of impressment on American decks? It is impossible. In this age, Britons themselves would not think of it. They would no longer practice it among themselves if war came

* Mr Rush was of the number.—EDITORS.

on. The horrors of the press-gang are gone forever. I need scarcely remind you that a party has always existed in England opposed to impressment. It fully existed when I was there. Young, the author of the "Night Thoughts," took the hint of his Ode entitled "Ocean," from a recommendation in the king's speech (George II.) to Parliament, urging at that day the increase of seamen by encouragements to enter into the service of their country without being forced by press-gangs.

In fine: If you view this whole subject at all in the lights I do, and can make up your mind to take it in hand, a chapter of surpassing interest might be written upon it. It is therefore that I would presume to commend it to your investigations, under aspects I touch upon and others that would fully occur to you.

I do not at this moment remember any special biography of M. de Vergennes. There is a good deal said of him in one of the volumes of Flassan's history of French diplomacy. Gratefully appreciating, as we all do, the services we had from France of that day and age, I nevertheless do not incline to place M. de Vergennes as high as some others do. It has always appeared to me, that your accomplished Colonel John Laurens accelerated his steps in our cause.

There is a book, published in 1801, mentioned in the preface to De Pradt's "Congress of Vienna," en-

titled "The Three Ages of Colonies." I have not read, and do not know, the book; but from its title, possibly something might be obtained from it bearing upon the review into which I would draw you. I dare say you know the work entitled "Diplomacy of the United States," published in Boston in 1826. It is a well written octavo of three or four hundred pages, embodying useful facts and principles belonging to our diplomatic history. The author's name is not given in my edition of it. Wheaton's work on the "Elements of International Law," I regard as one of the most valuable books under that head in my library. I often consult it, and always with advantage.

If, as you intimate, you should be disposed in the course of the summer to ask information on any point contained in the book sent to you, I will always be ready to afford it if in my power.

Apologizing for the length of this letter, into which I have been enticed by the intrinsic interest of its topics, I renew to you, my dear sir, assurances of the cordiality and respect with which I am

Your sincere
and faithful servant,
RICHARD RUSH.

CHARACTER

OF

MR. CANNING.

MR. CANNING.

THE death of Mr. Canning naturally leads, on both sides of the water, to conjectures on the consequences likely to flow from an event so important. Our impressions, under the first intelligence of it, were, that the system of which he was the centre would also fall; but we have less confidence in those impressions, as we reflect upon them, and especially if Lord Goderich should be his successor. We are amongst those who think very favorably of Lord Goderich. From our observation of his course, we believe, that, if his powers be not absolutely of the first order, they place him near to that class of men; not, indeed, as a Parliamentary orator, that great touchstone of the popular and historic fame of a British statesman, and without which it never gets up to the highest pitch; but as a clear-headed, diligent, and efficient man of business. In his successive posts of President of the Board of Trade,

Treasurer of the Navy, and Chancellor of the Exchequer (the last beyond comparison the most trying of any under the British Government, that of Prime Minister excepted), he has evinced these attributes, and has been steadily gaining upon the public confidence and esteem, both as a man of affairs and a speaker, as the orbit of his duties has enlarged. His fine education and admirable temper fit him to bring about, by conciliation and address, what the more transcendent and uncompromising abilities of Mr. Canning would carry by storm. But the latter, poising himself upon his own strength, was so ready, on the slightest excitement, to hurl defiance and scorn into the ranks of his opponents, to launch upon their heads such bursts of vituperation, that a more exasperated resistance to the system in his hands, might, in the end, have placed it in more peril than may attend it in those of a successor like Lord Goderich; who, though, it may be, not the person to have introduced, may be found able, with enlightened colleagues, to go on with it. Lord Goderich belongs to the *class* of statesmen where Lord Liverpool stood, although there are individual differences of character between them. The former has more of promptitude and sprightliness in his mind, with a natural and highly cultivated suavity; the latter is more grave, more systematic, more inflexible. Lord Liverpool

was far from being endowed with a genius of the first order. But, by the force of a good judgment, long exercised upon public affairs on a great scale; by unwearied pains in acquiring all the knowledge necessary to his station; by respectable parliamentary powers, notwithstanding the slurs of Madame de Staël, for he was ardent and sometimes even vehement in debate; by a courteous yet firm temperament, and by a reputation for probity always of the highest and most unblemished kind, he rose at last to a height of *influence*, that has rarely, if ever, been surpassed by any Prime Minister of England. It was an influence resting upon the weight of character, never upon the splendor or might of intellect. Lord Goderich, who has scarcely yet reached his prime, may be destined, under the guidance of kindred qualifications, to a career of the same distinction, though not able to ride in the whirlwind and govern the storm, like George Canning. And who is there in England, just now, it has been asked, who can? For seasons of extraordinary agitation, Lord Goderich might be less fitted to take the helm; but we see nothing in the immediate situation of Britain or of Europe to appal him from the task. We should not have judged, however, that his predilections would have led him to scenes of perpetual and fierce contention.

We have spoken of Mr. Canning's *system;* but, in truth, we do not know that he had a system.

Until 1823, the public history of his country, and its literary history too, identify him with unequivocal, zealous toryism. Like Pitt, it is true, and some others of this stamp, he advocated the Catholic claims. But here was the chief, if not only, exception to his high-toned English maxims of Church and State. On other points, and those the most leading, he took the very creed of the Stuarts, as far as it could be applied to his own day. He openly gloried in Lord Clarendon's illustrations of it. In particular, he held, that the Constitution of England was essentially monarchical, and he perpetually and vehemently beat down with all his arguments, and ridiculed with his wit, every idea of popular representation or parliamentary reform, wherever it came in his way, in the House of Commons or out of it. Hobhouse and Wilson, and even Burdett, he would scathe with his sarcasms, as often as they obtruded the topic upon his hatred in the House of Commons; while with Macintosh and Brougham, when they took it in hand, he would grapple with higher and more earnest exertions of his strength. Wit, logic, and eloquence, were the weapons that he wielded, according to the nature of his adversaries and his subjects. Their united force gave him the mastery of the House of Commons, making him irresistible. His eloquence and wit were vivid and glittering, and his logic, less elementary than practical, was, nevertheless, learned

enough for debate, and always clear, earnest, and powerful. On the point of the original and fundamental monarchical character of the British Constitution, one of his speeches at Liverpool embodies a defence under doctrines some of which Hobbes himself scarcely transcends. Nor, until the recent period indicated, did he spare reform, or liberalism, or republicanism, or any popular movement for political melioration, upon the continent, any more than at home.

But, in 1823, a crisis came. In that year the armies of France were marched across the Bidassoa, to trample down the Constitution of Spain. England, already out of humor by the previous encroachments of the Holy Alliance upon her supremacy, broke loose entirely at this fresh and more alarming disregard of her will. The British Lion, kept under by Lord Londonderry, was now roused. Then sprung into being the liberalism of Mr. Canning. Then, on motives of his own, and for objects of his own, was he first seen in these lists. It was not, in him, an individual selfishness—No, his soul was above that. It was British selfishness. This was its beginning and its end; this its inspiring principle, and only aim. It was not a liberalism devoted to the freedom of this hemisphere, for freedom's sake; but a feeling that flew into sudden and indignant action to *counteract* the part that continental and French ambition were playing in

the peninsula of Europe. Of the *tyranny* of that invasion, no denunciations escaped Mr. Canning. He had never any delirious philanthropy, as M. de la Bourdonnaye called it, in the French Chamber of Deputies, for the sovereignty of the people. We are not saying this in disparagement of the illustrious deceased. We are saying it as descriptive of him. We repeat it from himself. He made it his *boast*, and it was cause of boast to him, that British policy, British interests, the hope of British sway, were ever uppermost in his aspirations and schemes. To secure *these*, he called, as he said, the new States of America into existence. Truly he did, so far as the share that England had in that great work was concerned; and it goes to make up a rich portion of his fame; as the earlier forecast of Henry Clay, acting upon an expanded love of human liberty, earns for *him* laurels, still richer, in the same field. If this be not the award of justice to Mr. Clay, the part which the United States *first* took in that great work, must forever pass for nothing. If it be not the award of justice, the recollection, that the United States recognized them in 1822, must be struck from history, because England recognized them in 1825.

Mr. Canning's settled devotion to the principles of monarchy, as illustrated in the constitutional monarchy of England, where the king is little more than nominal; his constant, and, doubtless, his

honest conviction of its intrinsic superiority over all other forms for the government of man, marked the policy which he meditated towards this hemisphere. His official conferences with Prince Polignac, the French Ambassador at London, record his preference of this form for the new States: agreeing here with the equally avowed predilections of France. Nor is it believed that, to the day of his death, he abated anything of this preference; though its practical establishment in the new States he had too much of practical wisdom to pursue. Hence, Mr. Canning's system was not of his own formation or choice. Nor did he look to it as a system for the world at large. It was thrown upon him by the force of circumstances; and how much longer it might have lasted, or into what new or eccentric paths it might have sparkled off, had he continued in charge of its destinies, is perhaps not easy to affirm. He suddenly found himself the *champion* of liberalism, certainly without ever having been its *child;*—unlike Napoleon, who had been pronounced, by a former British premier, the child *and* champion of democracy. Whilst he held this championship, such is always the political station of Britain, that the eyes of the world turned to him with alternate hope and dread. He was enthusiastically cheered by the friends of liberty everywhere. They regarded not so much the fortuitous causes that had unexpectedly invested him with so high and perilous

a championship, or the motive, or even sincerity, of his allegiance to its tenets, as the good that he might achieve, whilst exercising it, *de-facto*, with a fearless spirit and a giant's arm. The same portions of mankind hailed, also, in his brilliant arrival at the summit of power, under the first monarchy of Europe, the triumph of genius over all the obstacles that a gorgeous aristocracy, and, as a whole, of high intellectual culture too, threw in its way. Sir James Macintosh said of him once, in the House of Commons, that he had incorporated in his mind all the elegance and wisdom of ancient literature. Beautiful tribute, from such a source! It was offered at a period when they were political opponents, but each generous, exalted, and accomplished.

With all our admiration of the mental powers of Mr. Canning, whether as inherited from nature, or carried to their highest pitch by culture and discipline; whether we marked their efforts when brought to the most momentous trials, or only gazed at them when they dazzled in lighter ones, truth compels us to state, that he was never the political friend of this country. He was a Briton, through and through;—British in his feelings, British in his aims, British in all his policy and projects. It made no difference whether the lever that was to raise them was fixed at home or abroad;

for he was always and equally British. The influence, the grandeur, the dominion, of Britain, were the dream of his boyhood. To establish these all over the globe, even in the remote region where the waters of the Columbia flow in solitude, formed the intense efforts of his riper years. For this he valued power; for this he used it. Greece he may almost be said to have left to her melancholy fortunes, though so much alive to all the touching recollections and beauties of that devoted land, because the question of her escape from a thraldom so long, so bitter, so unchristian, was a Turkish and European, not a British, question. If involuntarily hurried, for a moment, into the highest strains of even poetry and enthusiasm, at the thoughts of those classic shrines at which he had so often worshipped, the dictates of the British statesman called him back from his intellectual and moral transports, making him careful in his steps. For Britain's sake, *exclusively*, he took the determination to counteract France, and the Continent, in Spanish America. So, for Britain's sake, he invariably watched, and was as invariably for counteracting, the United States. He had sagacity to see into the present and latent resources of our commercial, our navigating, our manufacturing strength. Upon the knowledge of these, actual and prospective, he took his measures; and, if we may, or do think, that they were not always wisely taken, since true libe-

rality in the intercourse of nations is, in the end, apt to prove true wisdom, each in turn being benefitted by it, still he took them in a spirit that was British.

It is remarkable, that, long as he was in office, there is no one occasion upon which he lent his sanction to any treaty or convention with the United States. That of 1815, one of fair reciprocity, as far as it goes, both as to commerce and navigation, was the work of Lord Castlereagh, on the side of Britain. Its renewal in 1818 was under the same auspices. From Mr. Canning, literally nothing has been obtained—no, never; though we have held frequent and protracted negotiations with the British Government, during his administration of the Foreign Office. It was he who openly disavowed, almost with contumely, the arrangement of the British Minister, Mr. Erskine, in 1809, which might have prevented a war, had it stood. It was he who held the pen of Great Britain in 1807, when Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney were in London; wielding it, we will not pause to say how, during moments when the materials of strife most abounded between the two countries, and when this country was writhing under the daily infliction of exasperating wrongs. It was he who presided over the foreign relations of England in 1824, when the elaborate negotiations of Mr.

Rush also fell through, though the *time* was especially auspicious to their success, in that temporary alliance of opinion, and virtual concert of action, that were seen between the United States and Britain, against the arbitrary tenets and incipient military movements of Continental Europe; and although Mr. Rush, at the very utmost, was instructed to contend for nothing more, in regard to our commerce and shipping, than Mr. Pitt, the Tory Minister, would have granted in 1783. Long ambitious of treading in the footsteps of his great patron in all things else, we are here struck with the awakening fact, if more had been wanting to awaken us upon this point, that, in the matter of according to our flag a substantial reciprocity of trade and navigation in the West Indies, Mr. Canning would not tread in the footsteps even of Mr. Pitt. The friend of Plato, but always more the friend of Britain! Thus the proud, the unyielding, the universal supremacy of Britain, was, under all political circumstances, the absorbing element of his soul. Finally, it was Mr. Canning, who, in 1826, refused to resume the negotiations of 1824, and, standing upon his perpetual desire to promote more fully the aggrandizement of the British flag in the whole range of colonial, as at every other point of competition with the United States, abruptly closed the door of those negotiations, whilst our Minister, Mr. Gallatin, was within but a few hours' sail of

the English shores. The latter Minister, too, in a spirit of the highest conciliation on the part of our government, had at length been authorized to forego* the point for which it had antecedently been the duty of our government to contend (the very point once conceded to us by Mr. Pitt);—thereby removing, as was presumed, the only obstacle to a treaty. They who, after this rapid review, even rapid as it is, can imagine that Mr. Canning would have stood to any arrangement with us, one single day after its abrogation would have suited his purposes of benefitting British navigation, *unless he had been bound by treaty to stand to it*, must have more of credulity in their nature than of prudential and salutary distrust. His very speech at Liverpool, that went the joyous rounds of our newspapers in the autumn of 1823, in which he threw his compliments over the United States, as the powerful daughter of Great Britain, had no other object, and originated in no other feeling, than the hope of leading them captive, for the time being, in order to subserve purposes upon which he had deeply meditated, and which he was then ardently following up, as exclusively British.

But we will stop. Mr. Canning's name belongs to history, and we are presuming to touch it whilst

* Reciprocity by treaty, in regard to the West India trade.

the shock of his death still rings in our ears. To departed genius reverence is due. Britain has entombed him side by side with her most illustrious sons, and will raise monuments to his exertions to extend her power and elevate her renown. Those who knew this highly gifted man more nearly, testify, that his intercourse in the relations of private and social life was as attractive, as his public career was brilliant and commanding. He was, indeed, the grace and ornament of a society refined by age, by education, and by wealth; ascendant in the highest literary circles, and adding dignity to those of rank. He was amiable in his family, devoted to his friends, magnanimous among his foes. That his career has been as brief as brilliant, does but tell us how fleeting are human hopes! He had ascended to the pinnacle of his earthly ambition—only to die.

LETTER FROM PARIS

TO

BENJAMIN F. HALLETT,

OF BOSTON,

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ASSEMBLED AT BALTIMORE,

DECLINING, AS MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES, TO PRESENT TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRATULATION FROM THAT CONVENTION.

LETTER FROM PARIS

TO THE

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 31st, 1848.

DEAR SIR:

I received only day before yesterday your letter of the 10th of June, written on behalf of the Democratic National Convention assembled at Baltimore on the 22nd of May to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. Your letter was accompanied by certain Resolutions of the Convention tendering their congratulations to the National Assembly of France, and conveying the earnest wishes of the Convention, both to the National Assembly and whole people of France, for the consolidation of their liberties on the basis of a democratic constitution founded upon the principles of popular rights as we hold them. A copy or counterpart of the Resolutions came with your letter; the primary set being addressed "To the President and members of the National Assembly of the Republic of France," and the other set "To the Executive Government

of the Republic of France." A vote of the Convention appended to the Resolutions, directs that a copy of each set "be forwarded, through the American Minister at Paris, to the National Assembly of the Republic of France, and to the Executive Government thereof." It is thus that, in fulfilment of the obligation devolved upon you as "Chairman of the Democratic National Committee," I receive them from you.

The source whence these Resolutions emanate commands my utmost respect, and this fills me with but the more regret that they should have come to my hands for the object enjoined upon you in transmitting them. I would willingly, if I could, take upon myself the instrumentality they charge me with; but the more I reflect upon the position in which it would place me as the American Minister, the more I feel myself unable to assume it. I have appeared officially before the constituted authorities of this new Republic on three different occasions; and the nature of the communication you honor me with on behalf of the Convention, and the answer I am constrained to give, make it fit that I should briefly explain these occasions.

The first was a few days after the birth of the Republic in February last, when I went in person to the Provisional Government at the Hotel de Ville, almost before the barricades were removed, and tendered, in advance, the good wishes of our Govern-

ment and Country for the prosperity and happiness of this our ancient and renowned ally, under the new form of government she had proclaimed. No ambassador or minister of any of the European Powers had at that time acknowledged the new Republic.

The second occasion was in the month of April following, when I was instructed to ask an audience for the purpose of delivering to the proper international organ of the same Provisional Government, a letter of credence from the Executive Power of the Union, constituting me, in due form, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the French Republic, as I had previously been to the French Monarchy; the Executive Power of the Union accompanying this letter of credence by its sanction of my conduct in recognizing the new Republic, in advance of instructions from my Government.

The third occasion was in May. I was then instructed to perform a duty still more solemn and impressive; the duty of presenting to the Executive Committee of the French Republic, which had superseded the Provisional Government, the Joint Resolutions of Congress, the President concurring, which offered, from the supreme representative authority in our country, the congratulations not only of Congress, but of the whole American People, to France. To this act on the part of Congress, the National Assembly replied by an unanimous decree, in lan-

guage adapted to the simple dignity of the Joint Resolution of Congress.

If anything further is now to be done by any association or body in our country less *than the nation*, can I be the instrument? On all the foregoing occasions, I appeared for the *whole* United States; the United States in their aggregate character, great, powerful and known. I acted in my representative capacity. I am here in no other. Can I waive it; or step down from it? These are party Resolutions. It is so avowed with frankness on their face. They point to the existence and necessity of parties in free states. But are *parties* to be exhibited when nations speak to each other? Is it for me to exhibit the political parties into which we divide? Being here on national grounds, I can only hope to speak or act with due effect when speaking or acting in full identity with the national will; not as fluctuating through the different parties among ourselves, but as heard in the voice of the nation, which wields the strength of all parties. Then we are really powerful. What are we in the eye of Europe without this unity of name and power?

Since I came to this mission, I have not felt myself justified in acting at all in a party sense. Numerous communications, resolutions, addresses and letters for the French Republic, or some of its functionaries, from towns, counties, districts and persons throughout the United States, have

been transmitted to me for presentation. But as I have not been instructed to present them by the Secretary of State, I should not have been authorized to do so officially; and I did not feel at liberty to ask interviews of this government for the purpose of presenting them otherwise. Yet I have generally caused these communications to reach their destination and become known, in informal ways, where they have not been *of a party character*, as evidences of friendly feelings in my countrymen towards France under her new institutions. I have not answered these various communications, because it was not practicable; and because I ventured to trust to the candor and kindness of my fellow-citizens to infer that I would deal with them as seemed best when they arrived; the rather as public affairs here had often quite changed from the state of things supposed to exist when the communications were framed on our side of the Atlantic.

But in the case of the Resolutions received under your transmission, I make an exception. The Convention you represent, is coextensive with the Union. I therefore answer it; and the more fully, from the respect in which I hold that distinguished body and its constituents, with which, when at home, I am identified. Compelled to abstain from presenting the Resolutions, I owe to the members of the Convention an early statement of the reasons that have operated with me. Although all may

not concur in them, I dare to hope that some will; and that all will weigh them candidly. I will even hope that allowances may be made for the different feelings apt to sway an American here in European atmospheres, than when, as political partisans, we assail each other at home; neither party being as bad as the other represents it, and both alike intent upon augmenting the resources, advancing the happiness and extending the renown of the country; which belongs alike to both.

Not knowing what may be the decision of the Committee as to the further disposition of the Resolutions, I will keep them subject to its order. My difficulty in sending them by a private hand to the National Assembly, or Executive government of the Republic, or sending them at all otherwise than officially, arises from my being named on the record as the organ of delivering them; and I can discern no proper mode of separating myself on the occasion from the public trust I bear as American Minister. Nor can I know if it would be the pleasure of the Committee that the Resolutions should be delivered through any other channel or authority, less known and recognized than mine before this Republic.

I beg you to believe in the entire respect with which I have the honor to be,

Dear sir, your sincere
and faithful serv^{t},
RICHARD RUSH.

ESSAYS:

I.

VALUE OF EARLY EFFORTS AT EXCELLENCE.

II.

LABOUR NECESSARY TO EMINENCE.

FROM THE PHILADELPHIA PORTFOLIO OF 1803—1804.

ESSAY.

VALUE OF EARLY EFFORTS AT EXCELLENCE.

THE present season naturally disposes us to connect with it that period of life, upon the just improvement of which is to depend the fruitfulness or sterility of the portion that will follow. Spring is the season of promise and of expectation, and youth is the period of enterprise and of hope. The heart, in the morning of life, dilated with noble and generous expansion, is filled with anticipations of every enjoyment, and prepared for the reception of every delight. In the estimates which, at this season, are made of future life, difficulties are not to embarrass, or accidents to frustrate. The obstacles between plans and their success are overlooked, experience has not taught disappointment, or long-tried efforts at distinction wearied the constancy of diligence, or lessened the eagerness of ambition. Fancy, active in its projections, and plausible in its means, heats to enthusiasm the mind of the youthful candidate for renown. Every pen is to acknow-

ledge the merit of his established excellence, and from every voice he is to hear the grateful music of applause. The claims of undoubted genius are to silence competition, and the laurel of victory to decorate his brow. Fame, with all its allurements, in close perspective, flushes his soul with joy; and imagination, passing through different scenes of human elevation, riots in the luxury of its own creation.

How often such expectations are fallacious, we want not to be informed by the living mortals who are monuments of it, or by any of the thousands on whose obscurity the grave has heaped its mould. We know how small is the number of those on whom decided superiority is conferred, how many are the causes, by which fruition may be interrupted, and hope cut off. But ungracious is that philosophy which inculcates despondence, and holds out examples to depress; which would restrain youthful enterprise, by telling that its expectations are deceptions, and its attempts vain. Rather let every encouragement be given to ardor so commendable. Let it not be checked by the suggestions of the indolent and insignificant, or abated by the counsels of the unsuccessful or the timid. When eminence is reached, this spirit is ever found to have been its prelude. It is the grand incitement to emulation, the nurse of noble sentiment. The philosopher, who attracts notice by the in-

gentility of his speculations, or the usefulness of his discoveries, has often relieved the painfulness of thought by mixing anticipations of celebrity with his early meditations. The orator of established reputation has viewed from a distance the envied height on which it stands. Often, in the chambers of his alma mater, and while submitting to the discipline of preparation, has his heart been swelled by fancied plaudits, or his ear caught the sound of bursting acclamations. The commander of legions has vanquished the foe in other places than the field. The surrender of fortresses, the humbled submission of haughty adversaries, and the full display of the triumphant standard, have marked the early reveries of his ambitious soul.

These are the feelings which form the innocent and profitable recreations of the juvenile mind. Innocent, for they save it from wanderings that may be dangerous; profitable, for they strengthen the resolutions of diligence, and support the labor of exertion. A celebrated heathen, upon being rallied on his belief in the immortality of the soul, and told it was but an idle dream, replied, that, if it were so, he wished not to be awakened from a delusion so pleasing. To arguments that would discourage ardor, let such be the answer of the enterprising youth. If he be told his expectations are illusory, let him reply, he will continue a mistake that exalts the dignity of his nature, keeps

his attention from whatever is degrading, and fixes it upon objects animating and elevated. Labor is so wearisome, that the force of incentives, exerting on the mind an active and uniform influence, can alone impart to it vigor, and endue it with perseverance. The desire of distinction, whatever shape it may assume, whether it is to arise from political advancement, or military renown, from extensive opulence, or literary pre-eminence, forms such an incentive, and the moment of its forgetfulness marks the relapse into inactivity and self-indulgence.

The desire of fame has ever characterized the youth of celebrated and illustrious personages. He, who feels not such a desire, will keep his course of calm and unenvied obscurity. The greatest orator and the greatest statesman Rome ever produced, CICERO, whose name reminds us of all that is exalted in genius, and splendid in reputation, had his soul always filled with this animating passion. Pleading for the poet Archias, and celebrating his fame in letters, "I have been convinced," he says, "from my youth, by much instruction, and much study, that nothing is greatly desirable in life but glory, and that, in the pursuit of this, all bodily sufferings, and the perils of death and exile, are to be slighted and despised." Most men of illustrious fame might be equally full with the Roman orator in acknowledgments of their sensibility to glory.

Themistocles, upon being asked what music, or whose voice, was most agreeable to him, answered, "that man's who could best celebrate his virtues." The Macedonian conqueror made the Iliad the constant companion of his marches. By having ever present to his mind the exploits of heroes and the lustre of conquest, he kept in full blaze the fire of his own ambition. Arrived at the tomb of Achilles, "Happy youth," he cried, "thou couldst find a Homer to blazon thy fame." The sons of indolence may affect the consolation that early ambition is a troublesome and sometimes corrosive inmate of the breast; that it gives to the mind feelings unfriendly to its tranquillity, and produces infelicity by the mortifications to which it exposes; that it robs the pillow of its slumber, and casts a paleness on the cheek. Whatever foundation there may be for this, it is not to be listened to as a motive to dissuade. What pursuit, however inglorious, is free from its solicitudes? and who, but the listless disciple of torpor, will be repulsed, because his course is not always pleasant, or his path always smooth? The solicitudes of ambition, are admitted, but they are less to be dreaded than the mischiefs of inactivity, or the repinings of insignificance.

Let the youth, in the spring of life, press on with alacrity in the career he has chosen. He has all the motives of future eminence to kindle up his

enterprise, and animate his zeal. Every analogy of nature will remind him of his obligations, and encourage him in his attempts. See how the fruits of the earth, from small beginnings, spread into full luxuriance. Like the husbandman, let him sow while the season is auspicious, and the toil kind. The prospect of harvest will mitigate his soil, and be as refreshing dews to his exertion. After a model of successful diligence—Cicero—let him not be prevented by indolence, seduced by pleasure, or diverted by sleep from the objects his ambition would attain. Let him nourish emulation by the frequent presence of great and distinguished examples. Let the volume of PLUTARCH be often open before him, and let him constantly recollect, that, if he gain not the heights of uncontested superiority, laudable endeavors seldom go without some reward.

ESSAY.

LABOR NECESSARY TO EMINENCE.

Among the candidates for literary distinction, there is no truth more frequently lost sight of than that of the necessity of labor, to qualify them for the eminence of which they are in pursuit. Indolence is always suggesting expedients for the postponement of exertion; we grow weary of toil when reward seems distant; and even among those who commence their career with every determination to steady perseverance, ardor will often cool, and diligence relax. Sir Edward Coke, when entering upon the study of law, is said to have taken as his motto, "*Lex est tutissima cassis.*" By having this monitor constantly before him, he lived under the habitual impression of the high importance of his profession, and thereby lessened the danger of falling into self-indulgence. Those who are striving for literary exaltation, cannot be too often told how rugged and how cheerless is their way. They cannot be too frequently reminded by what slow degrees and repe-

titions of industry, excellence is conferred upon human productions.

It is a remark in physical creation, that plants flourish long, in proportion to the time they take in arriving at maturity, and among animals, those only are found to reach longevity that are of slow growth. It is the same in the moral world. Men who are conspicuous for intellectual acquirements, become so by severe and unabating assiduity. The preceptor of Alexander, when his pupil complained of the difficulty of his task, told him "*there was no royal road to geometry.*" We are informed, in the Rambler, that "Statius was the only author of antiquity who ventured to mention the speedy production of his writings, either as an extenuation of his faults, or as an evidence of his facility." This is a very remarkable fact. It shows that among the ancients it was not only regarded as necessary, but that it was always expected the greatest labor would be bestowed upon all their compositions. As a proof of the high conceptions they had of the difficulty of good writing, we further learn, from the source just referred to, that "no man among them is recorded to have attempted more than one kind of dramatic poetry." A limited survey of ancient biography will readily supply instances of the persevering diligence with which the ancients arrived at eminence in their different pursuits.

Whenever a writer's performance has cost him no

labor, he ought, on that very account, to question its merit. The first essays of the human mind are imbecile and unsatisfactory. When, upon an accidental animation of thought, a writer fills up his page with rapid execution, he finds, upon the fall of his excitement, much of confusion to clear up, and much of absurdity to expunge. The most exalted intelligencies do not claim an exception to this remark. It was a heathen saying, that the gods gave nothing to man without great labor. Productions that have been admired as the extemporaneous offspring of genius, have been the result of thought deep, painful and continued. Poems that, from the easy flow of their numbers, have been thought to rise in the mind as easily, have been the effect of previous design and systematic meditation. Perhaps there is no subject on which the desire to deceive is so general as this. Doubt should always be awake when boast is made of the promptitude of the mind's performances. In the time of Charles the Second, the Earl of Dorset wrote an admired song on the then expected conflict between the English and Dutch fleets. The Earl was on board one of the English ships, and as his poem came out on the night before the battle, it gained him everywhere the reputation of a ready wit. The biographer of the Earl relates, that he was informed by one likely to have good intelligence, a whole week had been employed upon this little cantata.

There are many such rapid writers as the Earl of Dorset.

All the eminent moderns have risen to their heights by passing through probations of vigilance and of toil. Milton wrote his great work at an advanced period in life. He had long conceived the plan of it, but deferred the execution until study and mature years had enlarged and diversified his learning, shed before him new lights, and extended, to their utmost bound, the ranges of his mind. Pope wrote and corrected with the nicest care; he repressed publication until "new beauties had accumulated, and new thoughts were supplied." The easy elegance of Hume was acquired by a studious disposition, and a long course of silent industry. A great part of Robertson's history is said to have been written in detached sentences on fragments of paper and the backs of letters. In the composition of a single page he has been known to walk the floor of his study half a day, laboring for expression, and tuning periods to his ear. Johnson's confessions tell how he felt the languor of application. Until the age of forty he was an unremitting and a solitary student, and after that period he gave to his labors only a partial relaxation. Junius, in stating his claims to public notice, asks, "And do these letters cost me nothing?" It was the most diligent application in early life, that gave to BURKE his various and profound erudition. In the course

of a single speech, the moralist, the metaphysician, the antiquary, the poet, the statuary, the architect, and the general philosopher, all find he had toiled in their fields. And hear with what expedition he wrote! His celebrated work on the French Revolution, was ten months in maturing. This was an octavo volume of less than three hundred pages. We have lately been told of the labor of Cowper at that metre, which has so simple and so inartificial a flow. But what shall be said of Gibbon? he whose mind, as himself acknowledges, was slow and deliberate: what were the achievements of his wonderful industry? Let the man who envies him the splendor of his page, go to his memoirs, and learn through what struggles it was acquired. The books that he read only as a preparative to a journey into Italy, would, in number, serve many for their journey through life.

Examples like these, however familiar, cannot be too frequently brought into view; they give a fresh spring to the schemes of diligence, repress the vanities of the superficial, and hold out consolation to the sons of perseverance. They are the more proper in a country where elementary learning is uncommon, and where distinction is caught at without a compliance with the requisites it demands. There seems, in this respect, to be a connection in the United States between works of the mind, and the products of manual exertion. Most of our

manufactures, owing to the imperfect and unseasoned materials of which they are composed, are found to want the durability of those we get from other countries. The artist who would give permanency to his labors, must employ in them materials that are well seasoned for use; and he who seeks applause from mental attainments, must multiply his ideas, and become skilled in the arts of expression, by extensive and laborious research.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH,

FROM LONDON:

DESCRIBING A VISIT IN 1836 TO GROVE PARK,

THE SEAT OF

THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH.

VISIT TO GROVE PARK.

LONDON, December 14, 1836.

MY DEAR WIFE:

Week before last I went to Grove-Park, according to Lord Clarendon's invitation. My stay was short, even less than three full days, for I was unable to stay longer, though urged to wait the arrival of guests expected the day I came away. I have written home since making the visit, but said nothing of it, reserving the account of it for you. I write occasionally to one or other of our sons on business; to you as a recreation. I hope this may make my letters, whether short or long, the more welcome.

Grove-Park is not far from London; so that a post-chaise took me there in time for dinner the evening of the day I set out. Then and afterwards our topics and occupations were various. Of the former, matters in Spain, where such furious war is raging between the Carlist and Christinos parties, were among them. Sir George Villiers, heir presumptive to Lord Clarendon's title and estates, is now British Ambassador at Madrid, which led us to

talk but the more of the things going on there.* Lord C. spoke much of the Duke of Wellington, whose intercourse and friendship he had largely enjoyed. He told anecdotes of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, remembering my ample intercourse with each when I was minister here. Some of the anecdotes were new to me, well as I supposed myself to have known both; which shows that we live and learn. He quoted from the Italian poets and from Milton. During our second evening he went into his library for a volume of Milton's prose works, and read to me, for greater accuracy than his quotation of it from memory, the following passage, where the great author is speaking of King Charles who was beheaded: "*To descant on the misfortunes of a person fallen from so high a dignity, who hath also paid his final debt both to nature and his faults, is neither of itself a thing commendable nor the intention of this discourse.*" He applied the passage to a point we had been talking about. It is the more creditable to the immortal bard when we remember what a sturdy republican and king-hater he was.

The hall, dining room, drawing room, sleeping rooms, all contain paintings. Many are portraits

* This nephew afterwards became Earl of Clarendon, was English Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the representatives of England at the Peace Congress assembled in Paris in the spring of 1856, after the war against Russia closed by the fall of Sebastopol.

historical in name and costume; the ancestors of Lord Clarendon among them, though he said it ill became people to be talking of them, adding, "better try to have merit in themselves." Of fancy pieces there is a picture in connection with a riddle addressed to Lord Burleigh. I might fail in describing it; but perhaps may obtain a copy of it. Should I go again to Grove-Park, I will ask for a copy to be taken by an American artist of great promise now here, young Healy. The request would be granted, I doubt not, and the picture will then come home with me to hang up at Sydenham, when the riddle would speak for itself. What say you to this? Over the mantel-piece in my chamber hung a portrait of Lord Mansfield, Chief-Justice of England in times past. In the saloon was one of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the historian of the civil wars. In the hall was one of a favorite name in English annals, Lord Falkland, a statesman, scholar and good man, who was killed at the battle of Newberry. He dressed himself very carefully on the day of the battle, in which he took part as a volunteer, from an expectation that he would fall, intending to expose himself freely, lest the strong desires he had expressed for peace should be misinterpreted by the king's party, to which he belonged; and not choosing, as he said, that his body should be found in a slovenly condition. It was one of his sayings that he pitied country gentlemen who had no

taste for reading when a rainy day came. These may serve as specimens of the collection, which is reputed a very good one in the line of original portraits, many of them full length. Queen Elizabeth's is there, and Queen Anne's; and there is one of Frederick the Great, of Prussia, presented to an ancestor of Lord Clarendon who was minister at his court.

I slept in the old lord chancellor's bed. Not the identical feathers, you will exclaim! I don't say that; but the curtains had been his, and that was enough for the imagination to work upon, had I been given to dreaming. To my eye they looked like satin damask interwoven with gold, for it was the age of costly furniture, the fashions of Louis XIV., or some of them, having reached England in the time of the Stuarts, who truckled to Louis in things not quite as harmless as copying his fashions in furniture.

I have said enough of the house and paintings, my stay being too short for more than a bird's eye view. I could only glance at the library; that appendage of every English country mansion I have been to, and which seems to go down as an heir-loom.

The park is about three miles in extent, enclosed by a wall and iron railing. Walking in it the morning of my second day with Lord and Lady Clarendon, suddenly we saw a fox-chase. The wall

was low, but the railing high. The horses, hounds, huntsmen, sportsmen, all seen through the iron railing scudding along outside of the wall, was to me an unusual sight, and very animating. I stopped short to look at it. Then I ran ahead to get a nearer view. The fox, it seems, had got inside of the park, and his lordship's consent was asked through a messenger hastily sent, and freely given, for pursuing it within the enclosure. The hounds came in at full speed through a gateway in the wall near to the part where we had arrived in our walk. The whole array, in gay costume, came hurriedly in soon afterwards, well mounted, as you may imagine, the horses smoking and foaming as all quickly drew up. What a sight it was! I wish you could have seen it; but you must take it at second hand through my poor account of it. The whole hunt gathered eagerly round a huge old tree. I did not know why, but advanced to the spot. The ground about the tree formed a little hillock, and under one of its roots was a dark-looking hole or opening, through which water trickled. This made a hiding place for the fox, and into it he had darted. The hounds could not get into the opening; but it was soon learned that one of Lord C.'s people had a ferret. The ferret was procured in a trice, and sent in after the fox, with shouts from the sportsmen, which seemed to say, "Now we have him!" But they were too quick. The fox got the better

of them, though every expedient was tried to rout him out. The hole proved something of a labyrinth, which Reynard guessed at, we may suppose. At any rate, it saved his life. I could not grieve at his victory, won against such fearful odds of hounds, horses, men, ferret and all. The jolly sportsmen had to bear their disappointment—some with looks of chagrin, methought. One of them showed me a printed list of the hounds, fifty odd in number, the name of each given in full—a sporting document I must bring home for the curious in such matters to see. Some of your Maryland friends might like a peep at it.

After bowing acknowledgments to Lord Clarendon for admission into the park, the whole array galloped out through the gate at which they entered, bent on fresh sport to make up for their first bad luck.

Returning from our walk, we came upon a herd of more than a hundred of the park deer. I had seen none since the days I was with you at your sister Lloyd's at Wye, and then saw only a few stragglers. I quickened my pace to get nearer to them, though, as I broke from my walking companions, I saw that they were distrustful of my getting much nearer. Cautiously did I advance, however, step by step. They suffered me to come within fifty yards or less, when all stood gazing at me, some full face, some sideways. Suddenly, as

if at a word of command, they all bounded off fleeter than the hounds. They seemed to fly, so soon were they out of sight. It was a good finish to the fox-chase, and scarcely inferior as a rural spectacle, in a beautiful English park on one of the most delightful days of early winter, with the turf still green. We were three hours out, and so ended our walk and the scenes in the park.

I greatly enjoyed this renewed intercourse with Lord Clarendon. The agreeable dinners at his town house in North Audley Street when he was Mr. Villiers, you will remember, as you shared them with me; and you will remember the pleasant little *sobriquet* we had for him: Tell it to our daughters; you can explain it better than I could write it. Here in the country, he has an ampler home than in London, and is surrounded by facilities for a hospitality larger and more various than town residences afford. The first night of my arrival he accompanied me to the door of my chamber, as his servant went before with a light. The last night of my stay, having gone up to my bedroom, after bidding Lady Clarendon and himself adieu as well as good-night, expecting to go off before I could see them in the morning, his servant brought up a note of a few lines, thanking me for my visit, with a request that I would repeat it. It was midnight when handed to me, the ink scarcely dry. I give you these little samples of him. Some might think them too slight for

notice, but you will not; they come home to a guest and are grateful to him. Gentlemen in substantially good behaviour are of all times and countries; the character never dies, and in that sense is much the same everywhere, as is often said. But the accomplished gentleman at all points, can only come of culture under a train of favorable circumstances not open to everybody; and, after all, nature must give aptitudes for this latter character, or it cannot be always alive to the nice feelings, and ready to do the graceful things, that belong to it. This defines Lord Clarendon. His cheerful tone, his acquaintance with the topics of the day, his mind in the mellowness of age without its prejudices, his care in dress, as time creeps upon him and the person requires it more, with his constantly bland manners, presented, in a person of *seventy-eight*, a model to be remembered. Say you not so? *Yes*, you reply, and to be *imitated*, too. Agreed, I say, if one lives that long and can imitate it; but there's the rub. Still, it is left to all to admire such a character. He is the man of the world uncorrupted; full of benevolence, and applying to good uses and agreeable pastimes, his fortune and leisure. I shall not displease you by saying what I do of him, for I know what you always thought of him when we were here. He likes reading in the country, without the compulsion of a "rainy day." I must tell you he likes horses too; and possibly

you may remember, as a middle ornament on his dinner-table once in North Audley Street, a prize cup gained by one of them on the turf. This is my remembrance of it; but I will not be positive. You must correct me if I am wrong.

I went with him through his stables. After seeing his horses and other things there, he pointed out to me, in a detached stall elsewhere, an Alderney cow; a thin, dun-colored, raw-boned, ugly little animal, but valued for the rich cream it gives. The man in attendance said something of its habits, which I forget; but suppose I bring one home with me, and we will find out all about it? I told you in a former letter that Lord C. owns Kenilworth. A print of the old castle, now in ruins, was engraved some time ago, representing it as it was in Elizabeth's time when the Queen made that visit to Leicester, immortalized by Scott in his Kenilworth. Don't you remember how you used to read these famous novels as they came out while we were here, and tell me of the parts I could not read myself on packet days? He has promised me one of these prints—a proof copy; and this at least we can hang up at Sydenham if I do not get the Alderney cow or the riddle picture.

Of Lady Clarendon another word. You will be glad to hear how well she is. She walked the full three miles with us in the park. She was among the whole field of sportsmen by the old tree where

the fox saved himself—the gentlemen of the hunt all bowing to her as they reined up. She said she enjoyed the sight, though nothing new to her, from the interest I appeared to take in it. This was just like her, you will say. Being a little late that same morning at breakfast, she gave as an excuse that she had been reading the morning prayers to the household, and had just come from that employment.

Mentioning to Lord C. that our son Madison had just entered the navy, he remarked that he had lately been reading the Life and Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, and that the letters struck him as being calculated to make good men as well as good officers, and perhaps my son might like to read the work. He asked what we would have done if France had resented President Jackson's Message to Congress, recommending letters of marque under our complaint of her non-fulfillment of the treaty of indemnity, as we had few or no ships of the line as far as he knew, and our whole navy being small compared with that of France. I said that our actual navy afloat was small, but our commercial tonnage much greater, two or three times, probably, than that of France. This made navies and seamen; so that, even had war followed, we should probably have been the gaining power by sea, if it had lasted long enough to draw out our naval strength. He avowed himself a man of peace, as I did, and was glad war did not follow, as

it might have dragged other parties in; but I mention the subject for the sake of adding that I thought I could catch his leaning to be on our side, though he did not say it in words. In fact, in my conversations with the English about the Message, (and a good deal has been said about it), it has seemed to me that they liked "old Hickory's" pluck on the occasion. It tells well for their descendants on our side of the water, they think.

I must now stop. Whether the topics were naval, rural, political, or whatever else; whether in his park, at his table, or among his pictures and books; I found my visit a truly pleasant one. In nothing was it more so than in the recollections it called up of our residence in this country, such frequent references did Lady Clarendon make to you; Lord C. doing the same.

On my return to town, I found a letter from Mr. Coke, inviting me to Holkham at Christmas, when he expects a party of his friends. A famous assemblage it will, no doubt, be, from the hospitality of that renowned old homestead; but I am unable to accept the invitation, being already engaged to go to Hagley, as you are aware. The last words of Mr. Coke's letter convey his remembrances to you. You will not, I suppose, object to the same remembrances from me, nor to extending them to all around you at home; being Yours and

theirs devotedly,

R. R.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH,

FROM LONDON:

DESCRIBING A VISIT AT CHRISTMAS, 1836,

TO HAGLEY,

THE SEAT OF LORD LYTTELTON.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH.

VISIT TO HAGLEY.

LONDON, April 4, 1837.

MY DEAR WIFE:

I feel that I have been remiss in suffering months to go by without yet giving you the promised account of my Christmas week at Hagley. More than once I was on the eve of doing so, when interruptions drew me off. And now, during an interval when I shall probably escape interruption, and have composed myself to that agreeable occupation, I fear I shall recall but imperfectly the incidents of the week; but I will do all I can with the aid of memorandums made while there, or as soon as I returned.

I went, as one of my letters told you, under the invitation received from Lord Lyttelton last fall, soon after I arrived in London. Christmas week was a good one for the visit,—certainly the best I could have had in the winter. To be sure, it was different from the almost feudal week I spent at Holkham when you were here; but, under other views, it was a visit to be remembered as long as that. I was at Holkham in the long days of mid-

summer. Gentlemen only were there, though, as Mr. Coke told you, ladies would have been invited if you had consented to go. Our movements were in the fields and on horseback, going out at ten in the morning to see agriculture carried on in different forms over the thousands of acres which his estate contained, until all the guests came in at a late hour, to be seated at immense banqueting tables—reminding you of old baronial days. At Hagley every thing was under the roof. All went on in the house. The whole scene was domestic. Winter had commenced in earnest, blowing and snowing; and we saw home life under some of its best aspects in Old England. And what thoughts do not these words wake up in you! Do you not remember the kindness we had in a thousand ways as we lingered on here from year to year? I am sure you do, and that it came not alone from the high in station or title to whom my letter of credence first made us known, but from those who had only their good qualities to speak for them, which gained upon us the longer we staid and the more we knew of them. This is the Old England we cannot forget; and the Hagley visit has vividly revived many of the recollections belonging to our long residence in this country, which we so often dwell upon in looking back to it.

Without more words, I will give you as faithful a picture as I can recall of the whole week there.

A mere description of the house, if given properly, might fill a letter longer than this ought to be. You enter by flights of steps branching right and left from the front door, broken by landings; like those at Wanstead House in Essex, the superb dwelling of Wellesley Pole, which we visited with our boys, just before it was stripped of its furniture and the whole pulled down; the bare mention of which house makes me remind you of what * * * * * * told us the rich proprietor once told him; that no wonder he was brought to the hammer, when every one knew that to keep it up with its accustomed hospitality, adding the carriages and servants necessary for the London season when Parliament was sitting, required at least seventy thousand sterling a year, when all that he had was but sixty thousand! The house at Hagley, however, is not so large as Wanstead House. On entering at Hagley, you come into a hall with statuary in the niches. It was decked in evergreens for Christmas; these old customs being kept up, it would seem, as when Washington Irving told us of them in his "Christmas Eve," and "Christmas Dinner," in the Sketch-Book, which came out when we first knew him here. Lord Lyttelton received me before a blazing fire in this hall with great cordiality, giving Harry a like reception.* The English of this class

* A son of Mr. Rush, about twelve years old, then in England with him.

differ much in outward manner, as you know, some, and perhaps the greater portion, showing a reserve at first, little encouraging to strangers; for often have we remarked that it took well-nigh our first three years to get even partially domesticated among them, when, at length, it came we hardly knew how. Others greet you cordially at first, like the best of our American gentlemen, when you go to see them in the country; and such was Lord Lyttelton's reception of us—certainly the most acceptable to a guest everywhere.

First salutations in the hall over, we passed into a room of ample size containing the library. The book-cases appear to be built into the wall, but stand a little out from it, which shows the books better and leaves space for paintings in the alternate recesses. The crimson paper and hangings of this room seemed to add warmth to the glowing fire; and here we found Lady Lyttelton and the sons and daughters. It was the family sitting-room during our stay, and wore an *ensemble* of comfort the more grateful, as the cold was piercing for the last ten miles of our journey. The wind had been roaring down the avenue of Spanish chestnuts, leading to the house, as we drove up, the post-boy and my servant feeling its bitings outside, while I and Harry, though wrapped up in overcoats, shivered inside. From the family group we had a welcome like that in the hall, Lady Lyttelton taking Harry's

hand, and accosting him as if she had known him all his life, which happened not to be the case, for she had never set eyes on him before, his English nativity notwithstanding; but it took his heart at once. It was five o'clock, and fully dark, when we arrived. We were the only arrivals that evening. Our first dinner was, therefore, in some measure *en famille,* and came on after we had been up in our rooms a short time, Harry having one communicating with mine, and changed our heavy travelling clothes before a good fire for a dinner dress.

The subsequent arrivals were Mr. and Mrs. Yorke, from Cornwall, the former of the Hardwicke family, the latter a niece of Lord Lyttelton; Mr. Clive, a clergyman, with a good *living* (in other words, income) in one of the neighboring shires; the Earl and Countess of Dartmouth, from his estate, Sandwell Park, Warwickshire, and their young son, Lord Lewisham, with Miss Barrington, the countess's sister. The Dartmouths came in their travelling carriage and four, the whole equipage English in its completeness. These made up the house guests, Lord L. saying he had also invited Sir Charles Bagot, former British Minister at Washington, whom he knew to be an acquaintance of mine, the Bishop of Llandaff, and Dr. Buckland, the eminent geologist, to join the Christmas party. The first was kept away by the approaching marriage of a daughter; the two others by a snow-

storm exceeding almost any I can remember in our part of the United States for depth, and the obstructions caused along the roads by drifts. Each day made additions to the dinner company, through invitations sent to some of the neighbors in visiting intercourse with the Lytteltons, these guests going away the same night; but by increasing the number at table it gave more variety to the daily dinner-party, where we always had the chief conversation, as then we were concentrated, whilst during the day we were scattered about the house.

I return to the description of the house, thinking you may all like to hear it. From the library you pass to Lady Lyttelton's morning sitting-room, and from that to the one allotted to the governess. In the latter the studies of the youngest daughter, probably about fourteen, go on; and I leave you to judge with what regularity, when I mention that during this festive week at Hagley this young lady dined at table but once, as well as I remember, and did not mix with the company in the daytime, though she generally came out in the evenings. The next door opens to the billiard-room. This was freely resorted to by the gentlemen, and ladies too; for as the snow kept us within doors, billiards came in aid of the library for passing time, and gave us exercise. The next door takes you into Lord Lyttelton's private room or study, where he and I had rambling *tête-à-têtes;* our country, in regard to

which his inquiries were not few, coming in for a full share of our talk. From his room you are ushered into a spacious saloon. The communication from room to room is in every instance by a single door on the side, these being of full size. In this saloon hung the family portraits. On first looking round it, my eye caught a full-length likeness of the second Lord Lyttelton, dressed in his robes as a peer. This person was a prodigy in his day. He was an accomplished writer and scholar, though not the author of those letters published under his name, one of which, dated the morning after his father's death, began, "I awoke, and behold I was a lord," and another of which contained a horrid description of an evil spirit, as if the writer's brain had been on fire by dreaming of a legion of devils. Lord Lyttelton told me he did not write them, though a belief was abroad at first that he did, for he could do almost anything; and the letters imitated sufficiently well his rich and glowing style, and his versatile genius. He was also a good speaker in Parliament and a close student withal, being ambitious both of literary distinction and of statesmanship. How he found the time for all this is the wonder; for now comes the reverse of the medal, as Sully says of Servin in his memoirs. He too was a libertine of the very first order; and although not dying precisely like Servin, with the glass in his hand, cursing and denying God, died

prematurely at thirty, worn out by his excesses. A female figure like a ghost predicted his death to him at a fixed time. When the night arrived, he was from home with a party of his friends, at supper in high revelry. They determined to cheat the said ghost by putting back the clock; but he died at the time appointed. So, or in some such way, the story runs. The traditions of Hagley abound in anecdotes of him.* His remains lie entombed in the romantic little Hagley Church within the park, where we went on Sunday. There also repose the ashes of that pattern of a woman and wife as handed down by the mourning muse of the first Lord Lyttelton, in a monody become classic in English poetry. A beautiful monument to her memory, erected by her husband, is seen in this church; nevertheless they do say he married again soon afterwards, freaks of that nature sometimes coming over men in spite of their woe. Probably you may have "heard of such things before," as our friend the Saxon minister in London used to say in that droll way he had.

But again to the house. This spacious saloon faces the hall, a vestibule interposing. From this,

* A well-written article in the London Quarterly Review some years ago, ascribes the Letters of Junius to the pen of this remarkable person. Many reasons were assigned, some of which seemed plausible at least, considering the long mystery hanging over their authorship.

two staircases spring, one of oak with a massive hand-rail and balustrades, the other of white stone. Crossing the saloon, you come to the drawing-room, the walls covered with tapestry, the ceiling and other parts fashioned and furnished richly; but it was not used during the more family-like scenes of our Christmas week. From the drawing-room you enter the picture gallery, eighty feet long, but so planned as to destroy the sense of undue length. At the opposite extremity of this gallery a door corresponding to the one by which you enter it from the saloon, conducts you into the dining-room. This completes the suite on the main story, the dining-room bringing you back again to the hall. Thus, in a word, if I have not already tired you out, entering this noble building from the grand steps in front with their low rise and broad tread, (there is also an entrance through the basement story,) you get into the beautiful hall. The dining-room is on your right; the library to your left; the saloon, which is beyond the vestibule, faces you and runs back to the northern extremity of the building, its front being south. It is a hundred and fifty-five feet front by eighty-five deep, two lofty stories in height, with four towers rising from the top, one from each corner. The whole is of Portland stone, as I took it to be, so often used for buildings in this country. Now at last I have done with my poor sketch of the house, if you can make anything of

it, and must go to something else. I think I hear you saying it is high time.

Paintings are seen all over it. I took a note of several from the printed catalogue. Having spoken of one, the *wicked* Lord Lyttelton, as I heard him called at Hagley, which they can afford to do, as the good who have borne the title so much predominate, I will mention only one more at present, lest my letter should get beyond all bounds. It was the portrait of two brothers, on the main staircase wall, who perished in early life, sons of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, an ancestor of the family. Both were drowned at Oxford, in the Cherwell, on the banks of which are the gardens of Magdalen College, to which both belonged. The youngest fell into the water; the other perished with him in endeavoring to save him. Here was devoted affection fit to be commemorated in a family picture.

I will attempt no description of the grounds or out-door decorations, but refer you to some of the books in our library for an account of them. Try "England Illustrated," in the two old quartos, or "Brewer's England," in two smaller volumes. They will only disappoint you, however, by meager descriptions, if they give any. The park here, as at Lord Clarendon's, is stocked with deer; but, truly, it was under very different circumstances that I first saw them. Looking from my chamber window when I first rose, on the morning after my arrival,

I saw a large collection of them stalking slowly about on the lawn: some stood gazing; others would thrust their noses deep into the snow. I understood they did this to get at the grass, their breath melting the snow a little, so that they could nibble it. I had also in view from my windows an obelisk and a Grecian temple that adorn the grounds, both loaded with snow and looking beautifully white.

But the part you will be waiting to hear more of, I am now to come to. How did we get on during a week of almost total confinement to the house? What did we do? Where did we ramble within its walls? what occupations had we, what amusements besides billiards and books? Did we not, in spite of what was so pretty all around, inside and out, fall into *hum-drum-ism* now and then? I think I hear you say, "Inform me of this: I am all impatience to hear; tell me all."

Within limits, I will. A little has dropped out already; but I will take a fresh start by making you better acquainted with Lord and Lady Lyttelton, better than I knew them myself hitherto.

Lord L. has the capabilities for entertaining his friends which a sprightly mind, and the best intercourse long enjoyed, are fitted to give. When first we knew him, you will remember, he was in the House of Commons, as Mr. Lyttelton. Now, he is in the House of Lords, of course; though seldom attends. He was all in all when able to be with

us; but this, I am sorry to say, was not the case every day, from the state of his health, although his desire to be with us kept him up at times when he was scarcely able to be out of his room.

Lady Lyttelton was consequently the more called upon to dispense in all ways the hospitalities of the scene. I thought I knew her formerly, but found I did not know the half: ample cultivation, without seeming conscious of it; conversation to charm all; a quick eye and attentive ear among her guests, forgetting none; a winning ease and self-possession —so it is I would imperfectly tell you of the qualities and accomplishments implanted and trained in her. Her manners are natural, and you see that they are derived from home. They are of the kind inculcated by the descendants of the Calverts, Carrolls, and others from the stock of those first Cavalier emigrants who arrived at the ancient little colonial capital of your little State of Maryland, and brought over good manners with liberty and toleration. In doing the honors of the house, she had therefore to put on no unusual courtesy, or it would not have been what it was, the habit of good breeding at home passing naturally into society. You know how often we have recalled that first dinner we had with them in Saville-Row, her father, Earl Spencer, Sir Humphry Davy, Lady Davy, Miss Fanshawe, and others, forming the party. And what sprightliness of conversation, to which

she so much contributed, had we not on that occasion! We thought it one to be remembered, even in the great dinner-giving world of London, where they can always make up dinner-parties without bringing together uncongenial guests, from the abundant numbers to choose from in their cultivated circles, which seem almost endless. This was some twenty years ago, when she was scarcely more than beginning life, blooming and beautiful. Now her sphere is greatly enlarged; and most happily does she meet its every call upon her.

Many calls there were throughout such an establishment during such a week. Among them, she became "domestic chaplain." Lord Lyttelton, she said, had commissioned her for that office, being too unwell to read the prayers himself. Every morning at half-past nine she read them. Those able to come down at that time, as I believe all did, attended; as did the servants, upper and lower, men and women. These all entered, arranging themselves opposite the family and guests. This morning the assemblage was in the saloon, the full-length family pictures looking down upon us, "wicked" Lord Lyttelton's among the rest, (pray pardon me, but the contrast was almost enough to start irreverent thoughts.) One sentence in the prayer ran thus, "Teach us to be just to those dependent upon us, and kind to our friends." The words touched us the more from the soft tones of her voice. You

will remember similar habits at Lord Bexley's country home in Kent when we were staying there; though no picture of a wicked ancestor was there to be looking down upon us.*

At ten o'clock we went to breakfast; and nowhere could her attentions to her guests have been better seen. What seemed best to say to each, followed her morning salutation to each. At two o'clock we had lunch. On Christmas day a boar's head, and a genuine old English Christmas pie, were served up at it. The dinner hour was half-past six. When announced, we crossed the hall, two and two, from the library, where all had then collected, into the dining-room; the latter brilliant with light, paintings and the table plate, the entire first service, plates and all, being of silver, so common in these classes that I remember your once saying it was the *absence* of it you began to miss; porcelain being seen in the after-courses. A couple of hours, more or less, spent at table, the time depending on the turn conversation took, and this was little apt to flag,

* Lord Lyttelton died in 1837, soon after Mr. Rush's visit. In the second volume of his "Residence at the Court of London," published in 1845, he speaks thus of Lady Lyttelton: "After Lord Lyttelton's death, the accomplished mind of Lady Lyttelton, pure principles, and mingled sprightliness and dignity, pointed her out, among the illustrious women of England, for the high trust of superintending the early education of the children of Queen Victoria."—EDITORS.

especially when Lord L. was well enough to be with us, all returned to the library.

A word about wine. Old Falernian was among the varieties on one of the days. One of the company being tempted to take a third glass of it, another remarked that the rule in such cases was, that he must take a fourth or quote Horace; whereupon the offender paid the penalty, exclaiming, *Jam satis terris nivis;*—in plain English, there had been snow enough, in all conscience, at Hagley that week. We had no dissertation on wines, save what was said of Falernian.

Back again in the library, coffee was first handed. Tea came an hour or so afterwards. Then we had the piano, harp, conversation, badinage,—anything. At eleven or later, some lingering till past midnight, we began to move off for our chambers.

Now a precious little *morceau* for you. On one of the evenings Miss Lyttelton, as if she had seen into my heart, struck up upon her harp the dirge, to Louis the Sixteenth composed after he was beheaded. Don't you remember when Bee, of South Carolina, used to play it for us on the piano, at Miss Boardley's in Philadelphia, in days of yore? You have probably not heard it since. It took me by surprise. You cannot imagine the memories it awakened. Night after night, as long as I staid, I called for it; and never shall I hear it again without thinking of the harp at Hagley.

Tell me, now, would you not rather have been here, such nights as these, than back again at any of the Court entertainments at Carlton House, or Buckingham Palace, in the magnificent days of George IV.? All agree that he was great at coronations, dress-balls, and such things, but the nights at Hagley, I ween, would have borne off the palm, in your eyes.

I run on from one thing to another, but shall have enough left to talk about when I get home. I cannot think of all now, or take time to write all; but must not omit to say that the good work of relieving the poor of the neighborhood was not overlooked by the inmates of this attractive abode, when winter was howling, and their guests enjoying good cheer and warm fires under its roof.

The unpretending way in which they speak of it whenever its beauties are alluded to by others, struck me. You might think they considered themselves as no more than plainly established in a simple country residence in Worcestershire. England, old as she is, continues to improve on the past. Where she is to stop would be hard to say; but comparing her condition when we first arrived, with all that I see now of increase, I should think that her meridian is still a good way off. It may be that the Lyttletons, familiar with estates and mansions which wealth and art have been embellishing throughout ages, but which their permanent owners

go on to cultivate and adorn, are less awake than strangers to the beauties of their own Hagley. At any rate, they show good sense in not talking of them, others perceiving them none the less. Long ownership takes away boast. Those, it has been said, shaded by the foliage of their old trees, have no need to talk of the roots. In size and costliness, the house and estate at Hagley are doubtless surpassed by many others; but in diversified forms of rural beauty throughout the grounds, hills, slopes, gardens, streamlets, avenues, where art seems to vie with nature for superiority, the well-informed in these matters think it would not be easy to point out places in England that excel Hagley.* All might agree that it has good claim to rank among what Mrs. Hemans calls "The Stately Homes of England."

A ruin was built by the first Lord Lyttelton near one of the boundaries, to make the prospect in that part more picturesque. Before the week ended, I walked through the snow to see it, the Vicar of Hagley and Harry my companions. The former

* All remember Washington Irving's beautiful description of rural scenery in England. We have before us an original letter from Mr. Irving, written in 1820 to Mr. Rush, in which is this passage: "As to the article on rural life, (in the Sketch Book,) though the result of general impressions received in various excursions about England, yet it was sketched in the vicinity of Hagley, just after I had been rambling about its grounds, and whilst its beautiful scenery and that of the neighborhood were fresh in my recollection."—EDITORS.

pointed out Pope's monument, Milton's seat, and Thomson's, as well-known spots at Hagley, which the weather prevented our seeing before; also grottoes, now glittering with icicles, and superb old oaks and elms. The ruin had the appearance of an old edifice or castle fallen to pieces under the hand of time. Ivy grew thick on its apparently ancient walls and mouldering fragments. Fit abode they seemed for the "moping owl." From this artificial ruin, the eye sweeps over a wide expanse of country highly improved. I wish I had seen it in the glories of spring or summer; yet the winter prospect told upon the fancy and feelings. Clad in snowy white, mansions, hedges of evergreen, churches, spires, came out distinctly enough to reveal a most beautiful landscape. As we stood looking at it, we called up lines from the poets, arraying the wintry scene in verse. It was on a week-day. Otherwise we might have heard the sound of church-bells in the distance. Such sounds I did hear afterwards near Stoney Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, where we were detained a short time on the road by the snow, the day I was returning to London. I had walked on in advance with some of the passengers, and as I leaned over a bridge, waiting for the coach to come up, intermingling chimes from the turrets of three ancient towns in view, stole into my ear through the stillness of a cold Sunday morning. Shakespeare somewhere

alludes to the humanizing effect of such sounds. You can look up the passage, as I know how you like to turn to him.

The Lyttelton family was ancient in Worcestershire before the first Lord Lyttelton, known as statesman, author and poet, was created a peer. Among its archives are some curious autograph letters; one, for instance, of condolence from Queen Elizabeth to a maternal ancestor of the family, on a death that occurred in it. It was folded up like a "cock'd hat," as we used to say when sometimes receiving notes twisted into that shape from octogenarians of the West-End of London. Another of the autographs was from Charles II. to Sir Henry Lyttelton, dated Brussels, January the 8th, 1660, thanking him for his friendship, and that of his relations in Worcestershire, when the Stuarts were in trouble. This shire is somewhat historical in reference to that period, to say nothing of the battle of Worcester, where Cromwell so completely routed the King's forces. Mr. Clive once mentioned at dinner that the family of the Penderills, descendants of those four sturdy brothers mentioned by Hume, have a small allowance charged on each of the ecclesiastical livings of the shire (as I understood him), which they still receive in the light of a pension, for their services to Charles when he was an outcast and a wanderer in those parts. Lord Dartmouth said, on the same occasion, that one of

Lord Bagot's family was married to a descendant of the Mrs. Lane, also mentioned by Hume as so faithful to fallen royalty. And it was stated that the oak which saved Charles stands not very far from Hagley; or rather what was the oak; for the old tree is gone, a fresh one growing round its root, surrounded by an iron palisade. It was mentioned in this connection that Charles, in honor of that tree, contemplated the introduction of a new order into England, to be called the "order of the royal oak," but it came to nothing; the best fate it could have had, as sensible people would now say, I suppose. Charles once, in his woe-begone state, speaking of the tree that saved him, is said to have mournfully ejaculated, (if *ever* that merry king was mournful in anything,) "As I cannot have a hole with foxes in the earth, I must seek a retreat with the birds upon the trees." The ancient homestead of the Lytteltons stood near the site of the present mansion, but was burnt down during the devastations of that era.

I came across a literary curiosity during the visit. Peering through the bookcases one evening, a small volume, old and in plain binding, met my eye. I took it down; and what should it be but the original edition of Thomson's Seasons, much thumbed? Glancing at the pages, I perceived marginal notes in writing, made, I was told, by the first Lord Lyttelton. Thomson was then a favorite visitor

Hagley. I asked permission to take it to my chamber. There, in gown and slippers, before the fire, I enjoyed until past midnight that charming poet, and thinking that perhaps he might have had the very chamber I was in. The marginal notes were curious. I copied some of them roughly in pencil to send to you, but learning that no publication of any of them had ever been made by the family, I would not risk sending them, lest of some mischance to the letter, so burnt them; but you shall hear of them when I come home.

With the mention again of the first Lord Lyttelton, let me add that my kind friend presented me, on coming away, with a copy of his works in three volumes. To Harry he gave a miniature edition of Virgil, a *bijou* from its size. Let me further say of my hospitable friend, in this connection, that while at Oxford he made his mark for skill in the classics, and has kept up his taste for them.

At last I must begin to think of bringing this long letter to a close; but as it was put off a good while, I seemed the more bound to eke it out to what you see; and well do I know that it is to come under eyes that will willingly read all I write while absent, no matter in what rambling ways.

Finally, I must tell you of the inquiries about you. Lady Lyttelton made them most kindly, as did Lord L., of course. Lord Dartmouth had not forgotten you. He reminded me of having met you

at dinner at Lord Bagot's soon after our arrival and made obliging reference to the occasion. You will remember that dinner, I am sure; but there will be no harm in freshening up to you an incident at it. It will make my letter but a very little longer, and brings up Lord Palmerston, now Foreign Secretary here, and growing in fame. He was then Secretary of War, which was not a Cabinet post at that day. An attempt had been made to assassinate him by a dismissed army-lieutenant, and the event was talked of at table. He was wounded; but sufficient time had not elapsed for it to be known if the wound would prove mortal. Whereupon one of the company (you know who) gravely avowed his readiness, should Lord Palmerston die and the assassin escape hanging on the plea of insanity, to *hang up one of his relatives in his stead!* The idea was playfully handled, but received no quarter, notwithstanding that the gentleman who started it was full of precedents from French history to help it along. The anecdote may perhaps revive in you other souvenirs of that dinner; as, for example, the mode of announcement of *some* of the personages among the evening company as they entered the drawing-room.

I fancy it will not be soon that you will have another letter as long as this, for it is not always that I shall have Hagley and its scenes to write about. Lord Dartmouth invited me to go over to

Sandwell Park, and make him a visit while the holidays last, as he expects friends; but I had to decline, for I am anxious to hasten back to London, to watch the Court of Chancery, from which that precious Smithsonian fund for the United States is to come. As yet I have been able to do little more than make a beginning in the work; and if I do not follow it up, I might perchance have to spend another seven years in England, as when you were here. I flatter myself Sydenham would rebel against this, in which feeling I send to you all my affectionate adieus.

R. R.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH,

FROM LONDON:

ON

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH, AND ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE BRITISH THRONE.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH.

DEATH OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH, AND ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE THRONE.

LONDON, June 21, 1837.

MY DEAR WIFE:

Not long after my letter in December describing my visit to Grove Park, Lord Clarendon came to town. The festivities in England in the country at Christmas, begin to draw to a close after Twelfth Night, as you know. The members of Parliament generally come back to London from their country homes on the assembling of the two houses in February, except those who choose to remain longer to indulge in rural sports or for any other reason. Lord C., not being of these for the present season at least, came to town in good time; and more than once I have again found myself at his table in his ancient looking town house, North Audley Street, as in days of yore when we first knew him as Mr. Villiers.

I was about to tell you of a dinner there a few weeks ago, chiefly for the sake of what was said of Washington and General Jackson, in connection with the Duke of Wellington. Our hospitable entertainer, in speaking of the Duke, said, that after the battle of Waterloo he, the duke, dined with Lord Fitzroy Somerset, one of his aids, in Brussels; Lady Fitzroy Somerset, who is connected with the Bagots, as the Duke also is, being at that time indisposed in Brussels.* When the crowning victory just won over Napoleon was dwelt on with joy, the Duke's eyes were seen to be moistened with tears; and he said that the next painful thing in war after being defeated was to gain a victory, from the number of the killed among those you loved. Lord C. here added, that three men renowned for success in war, Washington, Jackson and the Duke, had each inculcated upon their respective nations the maxims of peace, and each within his sphere endeavored to maintain it.

I intended to write to you about this and other things that passed on that occasion, from your acquaintance with several of the names at table; but interruptions that came upon me thwarted my intention.

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* Lord Fitzroy Somerset was long and closely connected with the Duke of Wellington. He lost an arm in battle whilst his aid. He afterwards, as Lord Raglan, commanded the British force sent to the Crimea in 1854.

But to-day I will write you some account of what passed at dinner there yesterday, lest anything should chance to thwart my purpose this time, or delay it; for now I am to tell you of something that does not happen here every day, namely, the death of the king and a new sovereign ascending the throne.

To give it in the connection in which I had it, I must mention that I dined at the Marquis of Lansdowne's the day preceding, with a somewhat large company. The guests, as they successively arrived, among whom were the Archbishop of York and others of distinction, were full of the announcement, which a second edition of some of the evening papers contained, of the King's death; but Lord Lansdowne, as President of the council of ministers, was able to contradict it, having the latest intelligence by express from Windsor. He said, however, that the event might be looked for every hour, the King being extremely ill, and the physicians considering a recovery hopeless. The conversation in anticipation of the event became engrossing. The steps to invest the young Princess Victoria with the regal power; the novelty of the occasion; the fact that more than a century had elapsed since a female reign in England; the careful training the young Princess had been going through; the assiduity with which it was stated she had attended to her studies, under the best direction,

for understanding her constitutional duties, all this, with more bearing upon a female reign, imparted to the conversation, in which peers and commoners joined, unusual interest.

Yesterday, at Lord Clarendon's, we had the subject in hand, not as an anticipation but a reality. The King died at three o'clock yesterday morning. Our dinner-party this second day was small and friendly, consisting mainly of those allied in one way or another by marriage; the Earl and Countess of Surrey, the Countess of Grosvenor, the Duchess Countess of Sutherland, a son of Lord Surrey, and two other young gentlemen, with Lord and Lady Clarendon, making the whole. Most of these you know.

Lord Clarendon, as a Privy Councillor, had been to Kensington Palace, the residence of the Princess Victoria, where the Privy Council were assembled on the *demise* of the crown, as the legal term is; for although the King, as a mortal man, must die, the kingly office continues for the next lawful heir to step into, whether man or woman. He was there nearly all the morning, to bear his part in the ceremony of the crown's passing from one person to another; and to his narrative, fresh from the scene, we all listened, as you may imagine, from curiosity if no other feeling.

The Lord President (Lord Lansdowne) announced to the Council that they had met on the occasion of

the demise of the crown; then, with some others of the body, including the Premier, he left the Council for a short time, when all returned with the young Princess. She entered leaning upon the arm of her uncle the Duke of Sussex. The latter had not before been in the council room, but resides in the same Palace, and had been with the Princess in an adjoining apartment. He conducted her to a chair at the head of the Council. A short time after she took her seat, she read the declaration which the sovereign makes on coming to the throne, and took the oath to govern the realm according to law, and cause justice to be executed in mercy.

The members of the Council then successively kneeled, one knee bending, and kissed the young Queen's hand as she extended it to each; for now she was the veritable Queen of England. Lord C. described the whole ceremony as performed in a very appropriate and graceful manner by the young Lady. Some timidity was discernible at first, as she came into the room in presence of the Cabinet and Privy Councillors; but it disappeared soon, and a becoming self-possession took its place. He noticed her discretion in not talking, except as the business of the ceremonial made it proper, and confining herself chiefly when she spoke, to Lord Melbourne, as official head of the ministry, and her uncle the Duke of Sussex.

This is the substance of what he related. I do

not repeat all, for his words were apt; and in such a matter, it is best I should be sparing in what I say, lest I might misquote him. Occasional questions were thrown in by the company. I did nothing but listen, as the sole stranger present. All seemed glad to be dining there by chance on the day of the event. We heard all about it before it could get into the newspapers; a rare thing in England, his lordship having come almost immediately from the Palace to greet his friends expected at this dinner.

But before it was all over, I was drawn in, whether or not, to say a little in turn. The important points of the story of the day told, and the desert course finished, our accomplished host, addressing himself to me, with his mild expression of countenance tinged with archness, blandly remarked, "How sadly you in your country have departed from the example of your good old English stock!" "How?" I asked. "How?" he replied: "why, could you elect a Lady, President of the United States?" This was something of a posing question under the event and topics of the day. I sheltered myself by saying it was a constitutional question we had not yet raised. "Ah," he said, "you *know* you could not; but we in old England can now call up the classic days of our good Queen Anne, and the glories of Elizabeth; but as for *you*, you are in love with that Salic law—you will have none but men to rule over you; no lady,

however beautiful or accomplished, can you ever put at the head of your nation, degenerate race that you have become!" It was so he pushed me. I parried his thrusts as well as I could. Then he varied the attack. "And what a hubbub you made for a year before electing Mr. Van Buren President! See how quietly a Queen comes to our throne; walk the streets, and you would not know of a change: to-morrow will be as yesterday, except that everybody will have a joyous face at the thoughts of a young Queen. We shall all be proud to look up to her; honored when allowed to kiss her fair hand at the drawing-room; happy even to have our ears boxed if we deserve it!" It was so he went on in a vein of badinage. The occasion was not one for political dissertation. I stuck to my country by saying, that if we could not elect a Lady President, I hoped we should have credit for keeping up the character of our English descent by doing pretty well in other things on our continent. None of the company dissented from this; least of all Lord Clarendon himself, who had been running me so hard, though so playfully. And thus passed off this pleasant little dinner-party and talk about Queens and Presidents. Here I must end the present letter, thinking this one subject enough just now.

Hoping it may find all well at home, and barely

adding that I follow up the Smithsonian Legacy in a way that I hope may induce the Chancery lawyers to make an end of the business the sooner, if only to get rid of my teasing,

I remain as ever yours,

R. R.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

THE SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. MARCY,

(UNDER AN OFFICIAL CALL,)

SETTING FORTH THE CONSTRUCTION PLACED UPON THE ARTICLE IN RELATION TO THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES IN THE CONVENTION AT LONDON OF 1818 BY THE NEGOTIATORS OF THAT TREATY.

WITH AN EXPLANATORY LETTER

FROM THE AUTHOR TO HIS EXECUTORS.

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EXPLANATORY LETTER.

To my Executors:

Having requested you in my will to publish a letter I wrote in July, 1853, to the Secretary of State, then Mr. Marcy, in answer to an official application from him for my views on the construction of the Fishery Article in the Convention with Great Britain of 1818, it seems proper I should give the reasons for this request.

I was the surviving negotiator of that Convention, all others officially sharing in it directly or otherwise, namely, President Adams, (the younger,) Mr. Gallatin, President Monroe and President Madison, having passed away. Hence the call upon me. It was made while negotiations were going on between the United States and Great Britain to arrange this and other matters of international concern. Great Britain, it may be inferred, expected equivalents if yielding anything to us on this Fishery Question. It was the most important and pressing of any then pending. How it ever became a question, and when, I have endeavored to show; but, once raised by Great Britain, she adhered to it,

to the extent of instructing her ships of war, to order our fishing vessels away, if found on what she claimed as exclusively her fishing grounds. Lord Elgin, then Governor-General of the British Provinces north of us, was the British negotiator, and the Secretary of State, ours. The negotiations dragged heavily for some time, and, out of doors, were thought to have been on the brink of a fruitless termination. Finally, the "Reciprocity Treaty," for regulating our trade and fishing concerns with the Canadas and other British Provinces north of us, was concluded and signed at Washington on the fifth of June, 1854.

If asked, did not this Treaty put the question at rest? I answer that it did, for the time being. But the subject is open to other views. A future day may witness the revival of the question. We thought it at rest under the old Revolutionary Treaty of 1783; but it returned upon us after the war of 1812. That war over, we again thought it at rest forever, under the Convention of 1818; but again it came back upon us. It would be unwise to consider the Reciprocity Treaty perpetual, whatever its presumed or real merits. When it does come to an end, this question may be upon our hands once more. The power of England is not on the decline, by any evidences yet before us, but, on the contrary, increases; and her adherence in the future, as in the past, to the policy which

tends to foster her commercial interests and maritime strength, may naturally be inferred. It would hence seem no more than prudent that both countries, ours especially, should be in possession of all the lights still attainable, on the true nature of this Fishery Question; which, altogether, is a remarkable one in our diplomatic history.

For more than twenty years the Convention of 1818 was in full operation in the sense in which *our* Government understood the article relating to the Fisheries. After this long acquiescence, Great Britain applied a new and different rule for the operation of the article. Whether she had good grounds for this change in its construction, is the essential inquiry. High names, in the Senate and elsewhere, have so well defended our construction, that it might seem unnecessary for me to bring before the public the views presented in this letter to the Secretary of State, were they not derived from facts intrinsic to the negotiation itself. In directing its publication by my executors, I aim at rendering justice to revered names in our history, and whose humble associate I was in this portion of our public affairs. I aim at showing that this solemn international compact, made under their instructions, and receiving their sanction, did not give up American fishing rights of long existence and great magnitude, but, on the contrary, secured them with the greatest care. In here vindicating

their memories against imputed errors or oversights in a matter so grave, and in desiring that the vindication should become known to their country, I trench upon no sense of propriety. As an official document, upon an international subject, no secrecy belonged to this letter, written on a public call upon me by the Government, other than exemption from premature publicity. Whilst the Reciprocity Treaty was under discussion, it was withheld from print by the eminent functionary to whom it was addressed, for reasons deemed sufficient, no doubt, at the time. A voluntary publication of it by me at that time would have been out of place. But the treaty having been perfected, its execution in good faith by both countries, as long as it lasts, cannot be affected by historical facts, or any opinions I may have left for posthumous publication.

RICHARD RUSH.

SYDENHAM,
December, 1854.

LETTER

FROM

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 6th, 1853.

SIR:

You are probably aware that within a few years past a question has arisen between the United States and Great Britain as to the construction to be given to the 1st Article of the Convention of 1818, relative to the Fisheries on the coast of the British North American Provinces. For more than twenty years after the conclusion of that Convention, there was no serious attempt to exclude our fishermen from the large bays on that coast; but about ten years ago, at the instance of the Provincial Authorities, the Home Government gave a construction to the 1st Article, which closes all bays, whatever be their extent, against our citizens for fishing purposes. It is true, they have been permitted to fish in the Bay of Fundy. This permission is conceded to them by the British Government as a matter of favor, but denied as a right. That

Government excludes them from all the other large bays.

Our construction of the Convention is, that American fishermen have a right to resort to any bay, and take fish in it; provided they are not within a marine league of the shore. As you negotiated the Convention referred to, I should be much pleased to be favored with your views on the subject.

I have honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY.

THE HON^ble^

RICHARD RUSH,

SYDENHAM, NEAR

PHILADELPHIA.

MR. RUSH'S REPLY

TO

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

SYDENHAM, NEAR PHILADELPHIA,
July 18, 1853.

SIR:

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 6th of this month, relating to the question which has arisen within a few years past between the United States and Great Britain as to the construction to be given to the first article of the Convention of 1818, concerning the Fisheries on the coast of the British North American Provinces; and I beg leave to express my regret that unavoidable interruptions have prevented an earlier reply.

Your letter gives me to understand, that for more than twenty years after the conclusion of this Convention, there was no serious attempt to exclude our fishermen from the large bays on that coast; but that about ten years ago, at the instance of the Provincial Authorities, the Home Government in England gave a construction to the first article, which closes all bays, whatever be their extent, against our citizens, for fishing purposes; and that, although they have been permitted to fish in the

Bay of Fundy as matter of favor, the Home Government denies their right to fish there, or in any of the other large bays.

On the other hand, you inform me that our construction of the Convention is, that American fishermen have a right to resort to any bay and take fish in it, provided they are not within a marine league of the shore.

Under these conflicting constructions, you are pleased to invite my views on the subject, as I was one of the negotiators of the Convention.

Honored by such a call upon me, I feel that the national rights and interests at stake in the just construction of this convention, are of a description so high as necessarily to command my obedience to the call.

At the same time, with the public duty which your letter devolves upon me, I cannot be insensible to the peculiarity of its nature, coming, as the call does, more than thirty years after the negotiation was held. I might well be distrustful of my personal recollections, and would hardly dare to draw upon them on an occasion so solemn, after this long interval, unless under the corroboration of documentary and other evidence. Treaties and conventions, as other written instruments, are to be interpreted by their own words, in conjunction with the antecedent and collateral facts necessary to the elucidation of their words.

Premising thus much, I may be allowed to say, and here at least I am able to speak with confidence, that the Convention of 1818 was entered into with great circumspection on our side. Mr. Monroe was then President, and Mr. Adams Secretary of State. Looking to their qualities with reference to this particular question, the former was calm-minded and wise; while the latter, besides all his other high qualities of mind, had little disposition to yield opinions carefully formed on the basis of his country's rights. From Mr. Adams, my colleague Mr. Gallatin, and myself, received in due form our instructions, accompanied by full information, the better to guide us in understanding and applying them. I need only recall the name of Mr. Gallatin for all to remember how experienced, sagacious, and highly gifted he was. To allude once more to Mr. Adams, it may be safely affirmed, that no one of our public men ever understood the fishery question better in all its extent, or examined it more sedulously in detail. It might almost be said that, in instructing us, he went to the work with something of filial reverence, which might have exalted, if possible, his sense of public duty. He remembered the share which his great Revolutionary sire, the elder Adams, had in concluding the treaty with Great Britain in 1783, and knew that he would have preferred surrendering his commission, to surrendering our rights to the fisheries in any of

the seas, bays, or gulfs, off the colonial coast of British America. The negotiators of the Convention had before them, therefore, supposing they could have been negligent themselves, the prospect of rebuke from their Government if, by the use of incautious words, or omission of apt ones, they became the means of depriving American fishermen of the right to resort to *any* bay off that coast and take fish at pleasure. There was, in fact, but the single exception you mention: they were not to go within three miles of the shore. You will gather from this remark that, as the surviving negotiator of the Convention, I coincide in the construction of its first article which our Government puts upon it; and I proceed to state the considerations which impress upon me the soundness of this construction.

Among the documents forwarded to us from Washington, as in part our guide in framing this article, were divers letters and representations obtained from proper sources in New England, particularly Massachusetts, containing information on the whole subject of the fisheries. It was obtained at the instance of Mr. Adams, under queries which he probably propounded on every branch of the subject. Familiar more or less with it all his life, his attention had been specially drawn, while Minister in England, to the state into which it had fallen after the treaty of Ghent, and to the state also in which he found it on his

arrival in Washington in 1817, when recalled from London to be the incumbent of your Department. Some steps for its settlement in Washington, which proved unavailing, were taken by Mr. Bagot, who first came over as British Minister to the United States after the Treaty of Ghent.

The queries propounded, as I suppose, by Mr. Adams, sought, very pointedly, amongst other things, information as to the *extent* of the fishing grounds necessary to us. When I first received your letter, I was not sure that I had in my possession any of this documentary information, as then furnished to us; but, on since looking carefully into places where I had deposited ancient papers, I have discovered a portion of it, the remainder having been probably taken away by Mr. Gallatin. Or it may be that the whole is still to be found among your files. The fragments in my possession have afforded me much satisfaction, as they go to strengthen the views which I have so uniformly entertained of the meaning of the first article, before knowing that I had them.

From one of the documents, viz., a letter of some length from Daniel Rose, dated Boothbay, January 22, 1818, I make the following extract:—"A great disadvantage of having a particular, limited extent of coast is, that our vessels must then go to that only; and this would render the prospect of making a fare expeditiously very uncertain. It is well

known that in some years fish are plenty on grounds where in other years few or no fish are to be found. It is the practice of our fishermen to try the different grounds as they proceed eastward, and where they find fish plenty they stop. Thus they sometimes get their cargo on this side of the Straits of Belleisle; at other times, they pass through the straits and proceed far north before they find plenty of fish." In the same letter it is said, "If any privilege is to be given up, that of *curing* fish is of the least importance, because that inconvenience may be obviated in a great measure by the fishermen making different arrangements." And again, he says, "The Cape Sable shores are most used, and of the most importance for us in the District of Maine, comprehending *the Bay of Fundy*, and the coast as far east as Whitehead at least."

A letter from J. F. Parrott, dated from the House of Representatives of the United States, February 6, 1818, states that the fishermen of New Hampshire "would view with *extreme apprehension and concern* the adoption of any stipulations having a *tendency* to deprive them of the privilege which they have heretofore enjoyed, of frequenting the coasts of the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia, and entering the coves for the purpose of procuring bait." Other documents agree to the importance of our holding this fishing ground, as may be

inferred from the above extract. All likewise concur in the great importance to us of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Bay of Chaleur. The latter is represented as having been "*famous fishing ground*" before the Revolution, and still productive. Heavy injury is anticipated should we not secure it. There is a long letter from Israel Trask to Mr. Silsbee, member of Congress, dated Gloucester, January the 20th, 1818, giving valuable information; and a general concurrence is seen as to the importance of our securing ample fishing ground, even if we did not get shore privilege; though the latter also was desirable. If my memory does not fail me, there were strong representations from the Honorable James Lloyd, then an eminent Senator from Massachusetts, on this head, and especially as to our not losing the Bay of Chaleur; though I do not find them among my papers.

Forewarned by information of this nature and much more not now in my possession, it ought not to be lightly supposed that the negotiators of the Convention would sign away the right of entering the fishing grounds in *any* of the large outer bays or gulfs. It would have been a severe blow upon all the fishermen of New England. It would have been to forget the whole spirit and object of our instructions; to disregard the information which in part dictated them; and to yield up or endanger great public interests, naval and national. The

Senate of the United States never could have ratified such a convention. We had come out of the war of 1812 under too high a tone of national feeling, most especially as regarded our rising naval capabilities and all the sources for sustaining them.

The idea of fencing us out by a line drawn from "headland to headland" of any of those large outer bays is perfectly new. It has burst upon us as altogether an *ex post facto* affair. No such words are in the Convention. I was amazed when I first heard such a rumor. Since receiving your letter, I have searched through all my papers, including the memorandums and informal notes which passed, from time to time, between the negotiators on both sides whilst the negotiation was in progress. I find no trace or shadow of any such words, on any protocol or elsewhere, from the beginning to the end of the whole negotiation. Yet the presence of such words in the convention is *assumed* in an opinion, as published in the newspapers, which the Attorney-General and Advocate-General of England have given against our construction of the instrument; and this assumption would seem to be an essential prop of their opinion. It was drawn forth, as is stated, under the requisition of Lord Palmerston, at the instance of the public authorities of Nova Scotia in 1841, who were certainly no parties to this international compact. The period of invoking such an opinion against us, was, it will be perceived,

somewhat remote. It came *twenty-two* years after the date of the Convention!

It is indispensable to the just construction of this high international compact, to which the attention of both nations is now directed, to recall the state of things existing when it was formed; and although this has been a well understood branch of the question hitherto, its summary but distinct recapitulation in outline will be appropriate at the present juncture to your call upon me.

By the old treaty of peace of 1783 which separated the two countries, we secured these valuable fishing rights. Britain said we lost them by the war of 1812. We denied it. Her doctrine was that war abrogated all pre-existing treaties. We admitted this to be the general rule, but insisted that there were exceptions to it, and denied altogether its application to the treaty of '83. That was not a treaty to be judged by common rules. It split an empire in twain. Britain did not *grant* us independence by that treaty, but *acknowledged* it. She did not grant us our boundaries. She *agreed* to them. She did not *grant* us our fishing rights. She *agreed* to them. All these we won in arms. We treated with our great adversary for peace, and desired it; but we treated as a coequal sovereign nation. Had not the fishing rights we insisted upon been agreed to, the treaty of peace would not have been concluded. It may be here

incidentally mentioned, as both curious and illustrative, that the elder Adams took as a motto for his seal, "*Piscemur, venemur; ut olim*" the latter then having reference to the Mississippi as our western boundary. We did not, *after* the separation, claim the right to cure and dry fish upon *her* shores. *That* would have been to trench upon her territory; but we did *insist* upon our full right to fish in the sea, and in *all* the open bays and gulfs where we had been accustomed to fish before. We considered these rights as fixed and irrevocable—like our boundaries, or our Independence. They were founded in beneficence, as producing human food and subsistence—a reason why they should be the more liberally interpreted and extended. They had also a paramount foundation in equity for us from the historical fact that in past time before the Revolution, when we were all British subjects together, the people of New England had done more by far to discover and use all these very fishing grounds, than any other people of the British Empire. Mr. Monroe, while Secretary of State under President Madison, and therefore imparting the views of the latter, while giving instructions to our ministers at Ghent in 1814, in regard to the fisheries, used the following emphatic language, in case any attempt should be made by Britain to demand their surrender:—viz., "they [with other rights mentioned] must not

be brought into question; and if insisted on, *your negotiation will cease.*"

Our whole doctrine was powerfully argued and illustrated by Mr. Adams when Minister in London after the treaty of Ghent, in two diplomatic notes, one to Lord Bathurst in September, 1815, the other to Lord Castlereagh in January, 1816. Lord Bathurst replied in an elaborate note to Mr. Adams of October, 1815. In this note he fully made known that England was not less unequivocal in the opposite doctrine to that which we had taken. The two countries being decidedly at issue, and, according to the ground England took, no treaty regulation of the subject being in existence after the war of 1812, her cruisers began to capture our fishing vessels in the waters where we thought our right to go was as good as hers. The danger was imminent. Collisions might take place at any moment. *Then* it was that further captures were forborne until the two governments could calmly and deliberately interpose in the hope of some satisfactory adjustment. This summary presents the precise attitude of the two nations when the negotiation of 1818 opened.

After protracted difficulties, anxieties, and hesitations, on this momentous topic, momentous because we on our side thought that a rupture between the two countries would ultimately follow the failure to arrange it, the negotiation, which commenced

in August, 1818, happily terminated in the signature of the Convention on the 20th of October of that year.

In signing it, we believed that we retained the right of fishing in the sea, whether called a bay, gulf, or by whatever other term designated, that washed any part of the coast of the British North American Provinces, with the simple exception that we did not come *within a marine league* of the shore. We had this right by the law of nations. Its confirmation was in the treaty of '83. We retained it undiminished, unless we gave it up by the first article of the Convention of 1818. This we did not do. The article warrants no such construction. Mr. Everett, when minister in London, writing to Lord Aberdeen, August 10, 1843, under instructions from the Secretary of State, remarks that "the right of fishing on any part of the coast of Nova Scotia (consequently in the Bay of Fundy) at a greater distance than three miles, is so plain, that it would be difficult to conceive on what ground it could be drawn in question, had not attempts been made by the provincial authorities of Her Majesty's Government to interfere with its exercise;" and Mr. Stevenson, Minister in London before Mr. Everett, while writing to Lord Palmerston, March 27, '41, in reference to our right to fish in the large outer bays, says, "The stipulations of the treaty (convention) of 1818 are believed to be

too plain and explicit to leave room for doubt or misapprehension."

As to the Bay of Fundy, part of its coast belongs to one of the States of the Union—viz., Maine. Hence Britain cannot claim it as her exclusive dominion. Had Mr. Gallatin been told by the British Plenipotentiaries that the first article of the convention would close the extensive waters of that bay against our fishermen, I do not believe he would have signed it. I am sure I would not have signed it. The spirit, context, all the concomitants, of the article, pointed to a different meaning. I need not cite all its words. You are familiar with them. It will be enough to bring into view the proviso which follows the clause of renunciation. That part runs thus:—"And the United States hereby renounce forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, or cure fish, *on or within three marine miles* of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America not included within the above mentioned limits, (those set out for us in the beginning of the article;) provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be permitted to enter such bays or harbors, *for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water;* and for no other purpose whatever."

These are the decisive words in our favor. They

meant no more than that our fishermen, whilst fishing in the waters of the Bay of Fundy, should not go nearer than three miles to any of those *small inner bays, creeks, or harbors,* which are known to indent the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

To suppose they were bound to keep three miles off *from a line drawn from headland to headland on the extreme outside limits of that bay,* a line which might *measure* fifty miles or more, according to the manner of drawing or imagining it, would be a most unnatural supposition. I cannot think that it entered the minds of the British Plenipotentiaries any more than ours. For would it not be useless to tell fishermen, when half wrecked, that they might cross such a line for the purpose of seeking shelter in bays, creeks, and harbors, lying at an immense distance *inside* of it? Tempest-tost *outside* of a great sea line like that, damaged in sails and rigging, how were they to reach the sheltering havens they desired? To suppose it, is a mockery; and similar reasoning applies to all the other large bays and gulfs.

We inserted the clause of renunciation. The British Plenipotentiaries did not desire it. Without it, room might have been left for the inference that what we got under the Convention was a *grant* from Britain; whereas our ground of argument being that, with the exception of *shore* privilege, our fishing rights remained as under the treaty of '83, we

could receive nothing which had been agreed upon by the first article in the light of a *concession* or *favor* from her. We took it only as part of a co-equal agreement, and in the sense of a compromise.

In conformity with our construction was the practice of Britain herself after the convention was ratified. Our fishermen were waiting for the word not of *exclusion*, but admission, to those large outer bays. They had been shut out from them, some captured, and all warned away, after the Treaty of Ghent. The interval was an anxious one to them. Accordingly, as soon as the Convention went into operation, they eagerly hastened to their ancient resorts; reinstated by the provident care of their Government. Hence the significant motto of our Revolutionary patriot and sage, that we would both *fish* and *hunt* over the same grounds as heretofore. No complaint was made or whispered by any member of the British Government of that day, of which I ever heard.

I remained Minister at that Court nearly seven years after the signature and ratification of this convention. Opportunities of complaint were, therefore, never wanting. If intimated to me, it would have been my duty to transmit at once any such intimation to our Government. Nor did I ever hear of complaints through the British Legation in Washington. It would have been natural to make objections when our misconstruction of the instrument

was *fresh*, if we *did* misconstrue it. The occasion would have been especially opportune when I was subsequently engaged in extensive negotiations with England in 1823–4, which brought under consideration the whole relations, commercial and territorial, between the two countries, including our entire intercourse by sea and land, with her North American colonies. Still, silence was never broken in the metropolitan atmosphere of London whilst I remained there. Your letter informs me that for more than twenty years after the convention there was no serious attempt to exclude us from those large bays; and Mr. Everett, writing as Secretary of State, only on the 4th of December last, to Mr. Ingersoll, then our minister in London, renders more definite the time you would indicate, by saying that "it was just a *quarter of a century* after the date of the Convention before the *first* American fisherman was captured for fishing at large in the Bay of Fundy." I find it extremely difficult, under any lights at present before me, to explain the extraordinary circumstances which environ this international question consistently with the respect due to the high party on the other side; feelings the most friendly being ever due to her from the magnitude of the interests bound up in the subsistence of harmonious relations between the two countries.

It is impossible for me to doubt that the Convention, as *we* now construe it, and have *always* construed it, was entirely acceptable to the British Government *at the time of its adoption.* But I remember also that other feelings were afloat at that epoch, beyond the pale of the Home Government in England. The fishery article was sharply assailed out of doors. Journals of prominence in London represented it as sacrificing high maritime interests of England, following up like sacrifices which, they said, she had made to France and other powers, in the treaties of Vienna. The Legislative Assembly and Council of Nova Scotia, sent forward murmurs, deep and loud, from that quarter. They alleged that the prospects of British colonial industry and advantage in North America were exposed to a shock in the competition which this fishery article opened anew to the Americans. The commingling tides of complaint from the London press and from the Colonies served to swell, for a time, popular clamor in England against us; a feeling not without example in that country, as those know who may have had opportunities of close observation, when her Government has kept aloof and been friendly to us. The clamor had its run, and died away. The British statesmen then wielding her power—Lord Liverpool was Premier, and Lord Castlereagh Foreign Secretary—had probably not

been unaware that there would be, to some extent, an outside feeling of dissatisfaction under that fishery article. They knew their position, and were prepared for its responsibilities. Paying respect to the convictions prevailing in the United States, that our fishing rights were *not* lost by the war of 1812, though so contrary to the British opinions, they determined upon the compromise which the Convention effected.

It was in this spirit of amity that a formidable source of dissension was removed, without implicating the honor of either nation; whilst the ultimate interests of both were thought, by the wisest in both, to have been best advanced by the compromise.*

I render with satisfaction this passing tribute to the Liverpool ministry, and especially to Lord Castlereagh; due the more, as is was not the only occasion during my long mission when its amicable counsels in regard to the United States interposed to ward off trouble to the two nations when there was no adequate cause for it on our side, but much out-door English clamor against us. It may be added, as not an irrelevant fact, but pertinent to

* In the Author's "Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London," vol. i. chapter xix. pp. 388 to 403, will be found a full account of the progress of the negotiation of 1818; the conclusion of the Convention, and the settlement, among others, of the Fishery article, as here explained.—EDITORS.

the matter I have in hand, that it was the same ministry, Tory as it was, with which we negotiated in London the Convention of July, 1815. This international compact secured for us, as far as it went, the fairest measure of reciprocity in our commerce, and especially our navigation, with Britain, which, up to that period, we had ever been able to obtain from any British ministry, Whig or Tory, since the day of our separation. Another auspicious circumstance may be said to have gone hand in hand with the labors of Mr. Gallatin and myself. It was a ministry the most strongly seated, perhaps, in influence and power, of any that had preceded it for a century, because governing England at the epoch of Napoleon's downfall. Such a ministry had no fears in being just to us on the Fishery question. It was not to be shaken by outdoor clamor, and disregarded it.

Nothing but the great importance of the subject, and the peculiar dilemma in which this disputed question has come to be placed, could justify me in making this letter so long. I must venture to hope that this will be my shield in your eyes.

A brief, a reluctant, reflection must close it. It relates to the letter from Mr. Webster, written in July, '52, when he was Secretary of State. I desire to speak with nothing but reverence of an American statesman whom death has canonized. To his great abilities, exalted patriotism and inappreciable

services, all do homage; none more fully than I do. An inadvertence found its way into that letter, which, under the public obligation cast upon me by your call, I am not at liberty to pass over. It is the passage in which he states that it was "an oversight in the Convention of 1818 to make a concession to England, since the United States had usually considered that these vast inlets or recesses of the ocean ought to be open to American fishermen as freely as the sea itself, to within three marine miles from the shore." The letter was written when he was away from his department. Full of diversified public occupation, and with his mind under corresponding solicitudes, he may well have been momentarily at fault; at a season too when his health was perhaps feeling the approaches of that fatal malady which was so soon afterwards to deprive his country of his valuable life, and take from the world one of its towering names. This inference is the more strongly forced upon me, as in the same letter he refers to the opinion of the English crown lawyers, without noticing the grave error stamped upon its face; that they assumed *the existence of words not in the Convention.* I should reproach myself for this allusion, but for the influence which the great name of Mr. Webster might otherwise lend in directions unfavorable to the just rights of the country he so dearly loved. Happy am I to think, that his letter nevertheless closes

with a dissent from the construction given by the crown lawyers of England, to that solemn Convention which it is the aim of this letter to show is chargeable with no such oversight as he supposed.

I have the honor to remain, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

THE HON. W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of State,
WASHINGTON.

Note.—The Editors have thought it might be useful for reference to insert here the first article of the Treaty of 1818.

CONVENTION OF LONDON, OF 20TH OCTOBER, 1818, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

THE United States of America, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, desirous to cement the good understanding which happily subsists between them, have, for that purpose, named their respective Plenipotentiaries, that is to say: The President of the United States, on his part, has appointed Albert Gallatin, their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France; and Richard Rush, their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of his Britannic Majesty: And his Majesty has appointed the Right Honourable Frederick John Robinson, Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and President of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations; and Henry Gouldbourn, Esq., one of his Majesty's Under Secretaries of State: who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed to and concluded the following articles:

ART. 1. Whereas, differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States, for the inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, and cure fish, on certain coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks of his Britannic Majesty's

dominions in America, it is agreed between the high contracting parties, that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, forever, in common with the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland, which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Bellisle, and thence northwardly, indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson Bay Company; And that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, forever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland, hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose, with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground. And the United States hereby renounce, forever, any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish, on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, not included within the above-mentioned limits; Provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbours, for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever. But they shall be under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them.

A GLANCE

AT THE

COURT AND GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE,

IN 1847—1848;

AND

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

WHICH FOLLOWED,

WHILE THE AUTHOR RESIDED AS ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES AT PARIS.

"A Glance at the Court and Government of Louis Philippe, and the French Revolution which followed. Detached incidents, political, diplomatic, and social, the last brief and infrequent, of the Mission to France in 1848, and portions of 1847 and 1849, from occasional notes during the Mission, put into their present form after my return, to show the prominent events of the Revolution in February, 1848, which drove Louis Philippe from the throne, and what followed that expulsion. Of the general business of the Mission, these notes do not design to present more than the smallest part. Conscious of deficiencies and imperfections in the parts they even aim at explaining, I yet leave them for publication after my death."

R. R.

A GLANCE

AT THE

COURT AND GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848.

On the 12th of June, 1847, I embarked at New York for France as Minister from the United States, under the appointment of President Polk, and the approbation of the Senate. Mr. Buchanan was Secretary of State, with whose well-prepared instructions I was charged. The post was as unexpected as unsought, which made me the more sensible to the confidence of the government in putting it into my hands when there were others better qualified for it. I arrived at Havre on the 8th of July. Two of my daughters accompanied me, a third remaining at home with her Mother, who was in impaired health. I had also an attaché to the mission, in young Mr. Stanton, of New York, son of Colonel Stanton of the army. These, with our servants, made up my family.

Staying two days at Havre, we left it on the 10th for Paris by railway, but stopped again at

Rouen, further to recruit after the voyage. On the 15th we reached Paris. At the railway depot we found the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Martin; Mr. Irwin, late chargé d'affaires of the United States at Copenhagen, and Mr. Corbin, of Virginia, to welcome us on first arriving. Others were there, whose names I cannot recall. We went to the Hotel Windsor, Rue Rivoli, opposite the gardens of the Tuileries, where apartments had been taken for us. Our front rooms looked out into those beautiful gardens.

July 21. My baggage gets to Paris to-day. It comes by the Roulage, a slow conveyance. It was promised in four or five days. This is the ninth. It was left in charge of our acting consul at Havre, who forwarded it, the necessary orders having been transmitted by the French government for passing it free at the Havre custom-house.

July 21. On this same day I have my first interview with M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council. I hand him a copy of my letter of credence from the President to the King, asking when I may hope for the honor of delivering the original to His Majesty in person. The minister replies that he will take the King's orders and inform me. I express a hope that the King is well. The minister says his health is very good,

and that he speaks with interest of the time he spent in the United States. He represents his memory as remarkably retentive of what he saw there; sometimes he went into details, and was not backward on those occasions in mentioning the straits to which he was put at periods when his remittances were stopped, or did not reach him punctually. He told him that during such times he had lived on two shillings a day.

July 30. A note from the "Aide-de-Camp de Service près du Roi" of this date, from the Palace "de Neuilly," informs me that the King will receive me at that Palace to-morrow at one o'clock.

July 31. Go to Neuilly, attended by the Secretary of Legation. On entering the Palace, I was conducted by an Aide into the room where the King was to receive me. In a few minutes the King entered. He was attended by three of his Aides-de-Camp, and dressed in military uniform, as were the Aides. I wore the diplomatic costume of my country. The Secretary of Legation was also present. Approaching the King, I said that I felt honored in presenting to His Majesty, a letter from the President of the United States, which constituted me their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at his Majesty's Court. I felt this honor the more, as France was the great ally of

the United States at an early day after the declaration of our independence. "To fulfil my instructions in doing every thing in my power during my residence towards strengthening the friendship and good understanding between France and the United States would naturally yield me the highest satisfaction; and I added that if, in performing these duties, I should be fortunate enough to perform them in a manner acceptable to His Majesty, the measure of my gratification would be full.

Here I might have stopped. But the fêtes in Paris in celebration of the three days of Revolution in July, 1830, having just terminated, that subject was still fresh; and I went on, in conclusion, to say, that I could not but consider myself fortunate in arriving in France during the celebration of the anniversary which had placed His Majesty upon the throne. And that he might witness many returns of it, continuing to behold Europe enjoying the peace which he had done so much towards securing, and live surrounded by the affections of his august consort and family, was, I felt sure, the wish of the President; and I hoped His Majesty would permit me to say it was mine also.

The King, on receiving the letter of credence, said, in reply, that he had listened with interest to the sentiments I expressed. He begged I would assure the President that he reciprocated them fully.

The President could not estimate more highly than he did the value of friendly relations between the United States and France; great and mutual benefits hung upon them, and it would be his constant desire to secure them as far as possible; he remembered the ancient ties between the two countries, and always recurred to them with pleasure; new motives and duties prompted to the continuance of their friendship, and nothing on his part should ever be wanting towards confirming it. Of all this he requested I would make the President sensible, and I could not do it in a manner too strong to convey his wishes to see the two countries promoting in all ways each other's welfare. He concluded with a kind word in reply to what I said on my own part.

The King spoke with cordiality and emphasis. He spoke in English, with perfect command of the language. His prime minister, M. Guizot, when I talked with him, seemed equally master of it, though his pronunciation was not as thoroughly English as the King's.

The ceremony of reception over, the King asked me to return and dine at the palace at half-past six. Honored by the invitation, I did not fail to accept it. He would then have an opportunity, he said, of introducing me to the Queen and others of his family. He included the Secretary of Legation in the invitation, and said, familiarly, as we came

away, "And we will all take off our official costumes before meeting at dinner."

I arrived at half-past six. We assembled in one of the beautiful rooms of the Palace, which, although not a large one, strikes favorably upon the eye in every part I saw; as do the grounds in driving up to it. On entering, I was presented to the Queen by the King; then to the King and Queen of Belgium, the latter his daughter, now on a visit to her father with her royal consort. Afterwards he introduced me to Madame Adelaide, his sister; then to the Dukes de Nemours, d'Aumale and Montpensier, his sons—the last having married the beautiful young lady of the royal house of Spain; then to the Duchess of Orleans, relict of the King's eldest son, who lost his life by a melancholy accident near Neuilly. Other persons were assembled, making eighteen or twenty perhaps in all—the gentlemen all in plain dinner dress like the King.

In going into dinner I took on my arm the Duchess of Montpensier; an honor doubled by that of sitting next to the Queen and on her right. The King of Belgium sat on her left. In the middle of the table, opposite to the Queen, was the King. The Queen of Belgium sat next to him. I do not remember how the rest of the company entered or were placed, only that all were soon seated. The array of the company; the flowers, porcelain and silver on the table; the homestead where all were

seen, might well call to recollection the phrase which embodies so much—*La Belle France.*

My position at table was fortunate. The topics, intonations; the dignified form of the Queen; her bland words and manner to the representative just arrived from a distant and friendly Power, are still fresh in my memory. She hoped I would like France—hoped I had found good apartments—she too remembered the ancient ties between France and my Country—the King often spoke of the kindness he received there when a wanderer in early life—kindness he was fond of calling up and never could forget. Conversation like this with Her Majesty as the dinner continued, was at moments varied by the exchange of a few words with the King of Belgium, whose hospitality I had experienced, as Minister of the United States, at Marlborough House, in London, where he then lived as Prince Leopold, survivor of the Princess Charlotte, heiress apparent to the British throne.

The dinner over, all returned to the drawing-room in the order we left it. The servants began to hand coffee; when the King, with some of the ladies, walked out upon the lawn through windows opening to the floor. Others did the same, whom I accompanied. Here the grounds had a rural beauty the more striking from being simple. The servants followed with the coffee, serving it as we stood. The King came up to converse with me, but after a

few words, invited me to a seat with him under a tree near us, where he said we could finish our coffee. I sat there with him half an hour in the long twilight of this summer's evening. While we were conversing, some of the company returned to the Palace; some took other rural seats; some were moving about the grounds. The King dwelt with interest on his visit to the United States, more than half a century ago; mentioned places where he had been, some of which were known to me; spoke of our rivers, our mountains, our cataracts; and now and then would touch upon incidents personal to himself, or his brothers, during their travels through our towns, hamlets, and forests. He seemed to derive pleasure from recurring to these scenes of his early and eventful life. Before separating, he inquired what part of my family had come with me. I told him two daughters. He said I must bring them to Neuilly on Wednesday evening, that he might introduce them to the Queen. It was not until twilight was departing that my carriage was announced, and I left the attractive scene which, inside of the Palace or outside, had thus marked my first official and social day in France.

August 1. Go to Mr. Corbin's, at Versailles, his present country residence, where he entertains several of our countrymen at dinner. Before dinner we walked in the gardens of the Palace

and saw the fountains play. This great Palace, with its fountains and gardens, took my fancy less than the simple beauties at Neuilly; or, if I am not carrying heresy still farther, than Warwick Castle and its grounds in England,—to bring together things so dissimilar. In the latter, though relatively small, and baronial in structure, Nature stands out grandly by the side of Art. At Versailles, Nature seems hidden by Art.

August 2. Devote the day to making visits of ceremony to members of the Royal family, Cabinet Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, and other functionaries connected with the Government and Court, upon whom it is usual for Foreign Ministers to call after being officially received by the King.

August 3. Nearly all on whom I called yesterday, called on me to-day. The rest send cards. M. Guizot sits fifteen or twenty minutes. I refer to his speech in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday, in which he alluded to Washington; always a grateful theme to Americans, and which M. Guizot knows how to touch. The Spanish ambassador, General Narvaez, is of those who call in person and sat a short time. Lord Normanby, the English ambassador, not calling to-day, I received a note from him expressing regret at his inability to call, from being out of town.

August 4. This evening I take my daughters to the Palace at Neuilly, according to the King's request, and introduce them to His Majesty. They are presented to the Queen, who receives them kindly, as she receives all. The company was not large. The Queen sat at a circular table, where ladies of the Royal family were also sitting, some with fine embroidery-work before them.

August 7. We pass the evening at Mr. Walsh's, our consul at Paris, now staying with his family at St. Germain's. Hear from Mr. Walsh things that may prove useful in my mission.

August 10. We dine and spend the day at Mr. Moulton's, an American gentleman, settled in Paris; the day made the more agreeable by Mrs. Moulton and the attractions of his chateau, twelve miles off, where they are for the summer. We ramble through the garden and grounds before going to dinner. Mr. and Madame Hottinguer are of the company.

August 12. We are at the marriage of Miss Green to Mr. Vendenbrock, of Holland; the bride a daughter of the eminent American banker. The marriage ceremony takes place in the first instance before the Mayor of the arrondissement of Paris, in which Mr. Green resides, and is repeated at the

French Protestant Church, of which M. Coquerel is the eminent rector. The scene winds up with a déjeuner à la fourchette suited to the festive occasion, given at the mansion of the bride's father, where many guests assemble in honor of it.

August 19. We dine at Mr. Montgomery's, Rue de Matignon, a gentleman of Louisiana, where he spends part of the year and rejoins his family, living in Paris during the other parts. Here, in a house which tradition says was formerly a royal residence in miniature, he dispenses, with Mrs. Montgomery, a kind hospitality, in which we shared.

August 23. Dine at the Swedish Minister's, Count de Lowenhiëlm, who entertains the Diplomatic Corps, most of whom are present. A topic at table was Mr. Guizot's defence of the Ministry against the eloquent Montalembert's attack, just before the Chambers rose. A pithy sentence was repeated from it,—that it was pleasant for the minister to hear the government reproached by the noble peer for governing too much, when it was so often accused of not governing at all. I sat next to the Prussian Minister, Count d'Arnim, to whose conversation I listened with benefit.

Another topic came up, which all Paris talks about just now—the murder of the Duchess de Praslin. It took place a few nights ago, in her own

bed, at Hotel Sebastiani, not far from where we were dining. Screams from her maid awoke the men servants, who hastened to the door of their mistress's chamber, which was locked; but they got in through a window by the garden, and found her body bruised and gashed, as if she had been struggling for her life. What makes the matter worse is, that her husband comes under suspicion of being the murderer. They slept in different chambers; and one of the servants swore that he saw the Duke, as he supposed, though it was midnight, leave her chamber through the door, as he entered by the window. These were circumstances mentioned. The parties were known to some of the company; he about forty, she younger, and daughter of General Sebastiani, Marshal of France. They have children, and had just returned from his country estate near Melun, on the mansion and grounds of which, it was said, he had been expending large sums to adorn still more its ancient beauties. What makes more talk about the murder is, the coupling the name of a governess with it who was sent out of the family on suspicion of improper conduct; to whom, nevertheless, the Duchess granted a pension for life. So it was stated.

Our entertainer had long enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, and been many years in the diplomatic service of Sweden. He was full of sprightli

ness, and enlivened us with anecdotes—some of the past, others of the present things in Paris.

September 1. Go to the King's at his Palace, St. Cloud. It was reception-night. The Diplomatic Corps were nearly all there, a few of the Cabinet, and others of the Court circle.

The King asks me what my accounts are from the United States. I tell him that I think our army has entered Mexico, though we have no official accounts of it. He asks for my daughters, and hopes they like Paris. It could not be otherwise, I reply. He hopes they will like it better as they know it more. He introduces me to the Prince de Joinville, his naval son, much a favorite with the French, whom I had not seen before.

September 2. Leave Hotel Windsor and go to Versailles. We find good apartments at the Hotel de Reservoir, near the gardens of the palace, to which we have convenient access from the hotel.

September 4. The feeling of horror at the murder of the Duchess de Praslin is not lessened by the fact, which the papers mention, that the Duke has taken arsenic and died by his own hand; thus turning the suspicion of his having been the murderer of his wife, into belief. Letters to him from her, published since her death, show a mind of the

highest culture, with sensibilities tender and affectionate; agonized by the temper and conduct of her husband; towards whom she appears to have been forgiving to the last. So ends this remarkable tragedy in domestic life, half romantic in its horrors.

September 13. Go this evening from Versailles to the King's, at St. Cloud. The Diplomatic Corps are there. We offer our congratulations on the birth of a daughter to the Duke d'Aumale; and on the escape of the Duke de Nemours from being shot by the Prince de Joinville, when they were out shooting together yesterday. It appeared, however, that he received only a slight wound on the cheek.

The King honored me with some conversation. The subject of it was the tone of the English press on the Spanish marriage question. General Narvaez, lately the Spanish Ambassador here, had returned to Madrid, and some of his movements there had, it seems, roused the English press anew, as His Majesty said. He then expressed himself much to this effect, that having refused for one of his sons (the Duke de Nemours) the crowns of Belgium and Greece, and having long resisted a marriage with the Queen of Spain, pressed upon the Duke d'Aumale until his refusal had become hardly respectful, he was now to be called to

account because another of his sons (the Duke de Montpensier) had married the sister of the queen. He spoke of Lord Palmerston in a few words not necessary to repeat, it being well known that the King's preferences were for Lord Aberdeen, as England's Foreign Secretary, rather than Lord Palmerston, and that the former held Mr. Guizot in high esteem. I listened to His Majesty's remarks with attention, the topic being a prominent one. It was not for me to comment on the question of two crowns, or titles to them, concentrating in one Royal House; and as he only alluded to the English press, I confined myself to remarking on its unrestrained tone at all times and on all subjects. In that characteristic of it, I said, might be found the errors it so often falls into in regard to my country. The King replied that he knew the nature of the English press, as Europe did; it would say anything and stop at nothing. Yes, Sir, I rejoined, we know this on our side of the Atlantic; but the press will have its say in free countries. It runs riot in ours; and strong countries can bear it. His Majesty wound up by saying that its clamor would not alter his purposes; it did him injustice as to his course towards Italy, Switzerland, and Spain, but he would be true to his policy, which was to respect the rights of other states, and be glad as the condition of each grew better, as all would reap the benefit, France among the rest.

September 29. Return to Paris after a month of delightful weather spent at Versailles. Our visits to the Palace, whenever inclination led us to see its memorials of art in painting, statuary, and every thing; our walks through the gardens and grounds, sometimes extending them to the Grand and Petit Trianon, will make this month memorable in our recollections of France. Troops passed in front of our windows every morning, to music from mounted bands; but among incidents less usual, and therefore less to be forgotten, were the working-men in blouses we would so often see in the gilded rooms of the Palace, silently looking at the pictures, or wandering about in the gardens. Not a picture, not a flower, did they touch. They seemed trained to decorum. It was the condition on which they seemed glad to be there to derive pleasure, if not imbibe thoughts to bear good fruit. Whole parties from the provinces would also come to see the Palace and grounds, all France appearing to have a pride in them. They were open to all, free of expense, the humble as well as the high. Artists of both sexes might be seen there every day of the week in fine weather, sitting on portable chairs, copying any picture they chose from the vast collection in the rooms, or taking landscape views from the gardens and grounds.

I went daily to Paris by railway in case I had been wanted at the Legation, returning to

dinner by five or six o'clock, though the Secretary of Legation was always there. It was the "dead season" for diplomatic men in Paris, the King not being there, and the members of the Cabinet partly out of town.

October 1. Again in Paris, I establish my residence at 63, Rue de Lille, Faubourg St. Germain. We have the rez-de-chaussée of a moderate-sized but good hotel, well situated. A few paces from the conciergerie bring you to Quai d'Orsay, from which opens a view of the gardens and Palace of the Tuileries; as we had both before us from another point of sight when first at the Hotel Windsor, Rue Rivoli.

October 5. Visit Princess Lieven, at her apartments, Rue St. Florentine, in the hotel once occupied by Talleyrand. She invites me to her receptions, and calls on my daughters. I had the honor of knowing her in London when Minister there while her distinguished husband, then Count Lieven, was Russian Ambassador in London, and had much agreeable intercourse at their house. We spoke of those days. I learn that she holds the place in Parisian society to have been expected from her talents and accomplishments, which were not unknown in London.

October 6. To-day the King enters his seventy-fourth year. I hear that it is not expected of the Diplomatic Corps to go to the Palace or leave cards there in compliment to the occasion—a form usual in England on the King's birthday.

October 9. At Mr. Guizot's last night. It was reception night. Many gentlemen were there, and the Diplomatic Corps in part. One of them told me there was great satisfaction on the part of the King and Cabinet at the new ministry in Spain, from Narvaez being at its head.

In one of the rooms hung portraits of Louis Philippe and the Queen, with a very few others. Prominent among the few was General Washington's; and there was also one of Alexander Hamilton. Conversing with Mr. Guizot about the latter, the "Federalist" was spoken of; that great production of three of the eminent men of our Revolutionary period, to which Hamilton and Madison contributed so largely, and which purports to expound, by the lights of history and reason, the mixed principles in which the Constitution of the United States is founded. Of this production Mr. Guizot thus expressed himself: he said, that "in the application of elementary principles of government to practical administration, it was the greatest work known to him." I make a note of this well-expressed eulogy of the "Federalist," as Mr. Guizot,

besides being Prime Minister of France, and dealing with the practical affairs of a great nation, is also deeply read in the science of government, ancient and modern. His words are therefore the more to be valued and remembered.

October 18. I was last night at Princess Lieven's, by her invitation. She introduces me to Count d'Appony, the Austrian Ambassador, and the Countess d'Appony; also to the Marquis Brignoli, Ambassador from Sardinia, and the Marchioness Brignoli. Other persons of distinction are there; among them, M. Guizot.

A gentleman enters the rooms, towards whom many eyes turn. He is advanced in life. Insignia of merit and honor are seen on his person. As he advances towards Princess Lieven, her manner at once indicates how cordially he is welcomed. She extends her hand, which, with a grace not to be exceeded, he brings to his lips. It was Baron Humboldt, the philosopher, the man of genius, the votary of science; possessing knowledge so universal, with worth and modesty so great, that all respect him—all desire to do him honor. The Prussian Minister, Count d'Arnim, introduced me to him. I was gratified at his remembering that he dined at my father's, in Philadelphia, long years ago, when on his way to enter upon his travels in Mexico and South America, with Montufan and Bonpland.

And I can remember that his conversation, on that occasion, showed an acquaintance with English literature which made its impression on all at table. He spoke to me of Mr. Prescott, our historian, in the highest terms; saying that his fame was higher perhaps in Germany than in England, justly as he was appreciated in England. I understood that this illustrious philosopher was near his eightieth year. He is now in Paris, to attend the sittings of the National Institute, and receives the most distinguished attentions.

October —. Dine at the Marquis Brignoli's, Sardinian Ambassador. A large and brilliant dinner. The Pope's tendency towards reforms in government, was spoken of. At ten o'clock go to the soirée of Countess d'Appony, where a good portion of the dinner company also go.

October 21. Dine with our American friend, Dr. Daniel, of Georgia, at the Trois Frères, Palais Royal. He crossed the sea with us from New York, with a son and daughter; the latter winning the esteem of my daughters, as of all who knew her; the son full of intellectual promise, but lost to his family by having fallen in a duel in Georgia after he returned from France.

October 28. At the King's reception last night at

St. Cloud. His Majesty talks to me about our affairs in Mexico. He began by asking what were my accounts from the United States. Good, I said, as to the success of our army in Mexico. Yes: that I perceive, he said: it is nothing so far but glory for your arms; but what of peace?" I am thinking of that. When will you have peace? that is my wish. I wish it as the friend of the United States. Your Majesty cannot wish it more than we do, I replied; but we must have it on just terms. War, he rejoined, was always bad, and nations did not get from it what they expected, but only injured each other, as you and Mexico are doing. But, I remarked, when one nation has been aggrieved by another, as we think we have been by Mexico, and could get no redress, what was to be done? War with her, he again said, could do us no good, and reiterated his opinion on the inutility of wars. I remarked, that Mexico had struck the first blow in this war, and asked his Majesty if he would permit me to express frank opinions. Certainly, he said; it was what he was doing, and in the most friendly manner. I then said that our error had been in submitting too long to indignities from Mexico, and that had my country acted, as France acted ten years ago, when his gallant son, the Prince de Joinville, was sent with Admiral Baudin to Vera Cruz to obtain redress at the cannon's mouth, for fewer affronts, as we believed, than the United States had received, we would

probably have had no war at all with her. The King's comment upon this was, that France did not get what she sought by it, after all. He went into no particulars, but passed to the peculiarities of the Spanish race, as seen in history, and seen very memorably when Bonaparte overran Spain. He beat the Spaniards in the field; trampled on them; but like grass under the foot, it rose up again when you took your foot off. Two hundred thousand Frenchmen had found graves in Spain at his bidding. I said I was sure His Majesty did not mean to identify the conduct of the United States with Bonaparte's in Spain, who made little scruple of avowing his projects of sheer conquest against the known will of the Spaniards. By no means, he said, but only that he thought we should find the Mexicans as hard to deal with as Bonaparte found the Spaniards. I dissented, with all deference, as our cause was wholly different, and because we had not yet sufficiently used our strength against Mexico; that hitherto, after every victory, our army had paused to hold out the olive-branch; for all which we got no other returns than defiance. To this effect were my remarks. The King still dwelt upon peace. It was the topic constantly coming back to him. I had no aim to change his opinions, my only aim being to do justice to my country; the King's friendly feelings towards which were constantly expressed.

Count Walewski, late Minister from France to La Plata, having returned to Paris on the raising of the blockade by England in those waters, through the interposition of the British Minister, Lord Howden, and there being rumors that the Count had come back under a hope that France would send a considerable force to that country,—six thousand troops, the rumor said,—my conversation with the King seemed to present the opportunity of alluding to this subject. The spirit of His Majesty's remarks about Mexico, pointed to the improbability that such a body of French troops would be sent there by France; and so I ventured to intimate. You are right, was his reply: I shall not send six thousand men there, nor six hundred, nor one man. I said I was glad to hear it, and would let my Government know it; and hoped I might be able to add that the blockade would be raised on the side of France, as it had been by England, the commerce of the United States being interested in its complete removal. The King was not so definite on this point; the subject, he said, was *sub judice* between the Governments of France and England.

October 30. I receive a letter from Mr. Prescott, which states that for some years he has been collecting manuscripts from the different capitals of Europe, to illustrate the history of Philip the Second of Spain. He has ascertained, it also states, that

the papers of Cardinal Granville, comprising an important mass of documents bearing upon his investigations, are at Besançon; and that he has, under this information, sent an agent there to examine the archives. His agent learns that the papers have been removed to Paris, and are in course of publication by the French Government, but will not be on sale. Under these circumstances, Mr. Prescott goes on to state, that a friend of his in Paris, Count de Circourt, having encouraged him to believe that an application by me to the French Government for a copy of the papers might be favorably received, I consent at once to make the application; and accordingly I address a note to the Minister of Public Instruction on the subject. Almost on the next day I receive an answer from the minister, M. Salvandy, complying with my request, accompanied by six quarto volumes, comprising the whole collection of Cardinal Granville's papers. I cause the volumes to be forwarded to Mr. Prescott, in Boston, appreciating this prompt homage to letters on the part of the King's Government, under my official application, and I inform our Government of the fact.

November 5. Dine with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was my first dinner there, and first at the house of any member of the French Cabinet. The company was very large, perhaps forty or

more, all gentlemen, and nearly all official persons, consisting of the home ministers, foreign ministers, and others. The venerable Humboldt appeared to be the only person present not official. The official persons were all announced by the servants under their titles of office. This is not done in England, or was not in my day, in regard to the home ministers. These, when of the nobility, are announced by their titles; when not, by their names simply. The difference may arise from different national customs in small matters as in great; or it may be that the English prefer to be designated by the family patent of dignity, as more durable than titles of office—so apt to be fleeting.

In going in to dinner, Mr. Guizot led the way. I did not perceive under what other observances a company so large entered; nor is it material. All probably went in and were arranged under forms known to all, an attention to which prevents confusion. The porcelain and silver appeared to be marked with the official stamp of the Foreign Office. At night the drawing-rooms were fully attended, ladies coming in large numbers as well as gentlemen.

Before going in to dinner, the company being a good while in assembling, I had conversation with Baron Humboldt. He hoped we would soon make peace with Mexico; we were the stronger party, and could afford to stop; he felt for Mexico; he

remembered his early visit to that fine country, so rich in nature's gifts. I said we should hardly stop, I thought, until we got California, as due to the expenses the war had put us to, and our provocations to it, as we viewed the subject. The venerable Baron said he was not acquainted with the merits of the dispute, but it struck him that England seemed careless under our advances in that region; to which my reply was that, as regarded the future commerce of the Pacific, we sought no more than our just share with England and other nations.

November 8. We dine at Mr. Ridgway's, fellow-townsman and friend from Philadelphia, who has come to Paris and taken a hotel in Rue de Varennes, faub. St. Germain, where, with Mrs. Ridgway, as the graceful head of his house, they give their attractive entertainments. After dinner we go to the grand French Opera, where we see Cherito.

November 13. We were at M. Guizot's reception last night. The rooms were full; the Diplomatic Corps and members of the Cabinet largely attending, with many others. The mother of the minister was present, and his two daughters. One of them presented strangers to their venerable grandmother, who did not rise from her chair, appearing to be

much advanced in years; and I could not avoid observing in Mr. Guizot's manner towards her a courteous, I had almost said pious, reverence. To me this was touching, in a son whose own talents, with few other aids, had raised him to the premiership of this great nation; a sphere in which he was daily encountering the ablest men of France in debate, in the Chambers, with consummate ability. From this reception we go to the British Embassy, where there is a large assemblage. The Princess Lieven is there. I hear whispers that she resides in Paris, at the instance of the Emperor Nicholas, as an informal ambassadress, (*sub rosa*,) having succeeded to much of the confidence her husband enjoyed at the hands of the Emperor Alexander, whilst Russian Ambassador in London; but the whispers are faint as I catch them. Appearances at her establishment, Rue St. Florentine, would seem to indicate no more than eminent private life.

November 15. I was last night at the King's, at St. Cloud, and held conversation with His Majesty, somewhat more full than usual, about Mexico and other things, he, of course, inviting it.

Authentic details being known here of the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec, which ended in General Scott's entry into Mexico, the King began by asking,

"What news of peace, Mr. Minister?" I answered that I feared it was farther off than when I last had the honor of talking with His Majesty on the subject; that the Mexicans not only rejected our offers of peace, but violated an armistice, granted by General Scott when on the eve of entering their city; they had turned the interval of suspended hostilities to their own account, by strengthening the city with fresh troops and otherwise, while our army, reduced still lower by the killed and wounded in these sharp battles, received no increase whatever; thereby causing a further and needless effusion of blood on our side before the American banner was planted in their capital; that such conduct had not only prostrated once more the hopes of peace, but created a feeling in the United States for carrying on the war more effectively.

The King's first words were those of Polonius:—

"Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee."

I thanked His Majesty for these words from the great poet of our language: they applied in all things to my country just now. I would not forget them. We had been slow to go to war with Mexico; we desired to avoid it; but the time had come when there would probably be an exertion of force on our side which would be likely to warn

her for the future. The King replied that this might be burdensome, if not exhausting, to us. I thought not; nothing would be considered burdensome while vindicating our rights. But what of your finances? They are ample, I rejoined; they had not been much drawn upon as yet, although all the supplies of our army since entering the territories of Mexico had been fully paid for in cash from our own army-chest; but henceforth, perhaps, the enemy might be made to bear some of the cost, in the hope that an appeal in that form might operate in favor of peace. Although His Majesty commenced with the apt quotation I give, he soon reverted to his favorite theme of peace. Whatever might be our power, he devoutly wished for peace, as the friend of the United States; not that he was the foe of the other party; that was not his feeling; it was not for him to decide on the grounds of dispute between us; in all wars each side thought itself in the right. Might we not, he asked, by drawing out our military power, get too fond of war, and keep up large standing armies to retain conquests if we made them? though it was not for him to predict results of any kind, nor did he. I said there was little fear of our keeping up large standing armies; our institutions were against them, as well as the nature of our population, which would be always likely to yield volunteer forces. Our distance also from the great Powers of the Old

World, made large standing armies unnecessary. But, as wars would happen, and as Mexico had forced this upon us, as we believed, I asked the King whether the prospects at present did not suggest ultimate views, bearing favorably upon French interests, which His Majesty could judge of better than I could. In the commerce of the North Pacific, the United States or England, I remarked, seemed destined to predominate; at present we were ahead in the whale fishery, and other branches of a growing trade in those regions; and the blindness of Mexico was throwing upon us the obvious necessity of consolidating our interests on the shores of the Pacific from California to Oregon. I spoke in no ill spirit towards England, with whom our interests inculcated the best relations of friendly good will at all times, but was only glancing at a future that might be before us. Such were my remarks to the King.

His Majesty gave no opinion as to the future predominance of England or the United States in those seas, though rather expressed a belief that our *commercial* flag would prevail there; he remembered how we laid the foundations of early success by our activity in the carrying trade during the wars of the French Revolution; as to France, she deprived herself of benefits she might obtain in commerce, by being too restrictive; but what were to be all the results of the English

policy, which had latterly gone so far the other way, seemed uncertain as yet; he did not defend monopolies; free trade, with some regulation, being the best. It was to this effect he expressed himself.

The Mexican war was lost sight of in what the King had been saying on commercial policy; and as it was among my instructions to get better terms in trade with France than existed, she still keeping up heavy duties on our productions, while we have been reducing ours on hers, I improved the opportunity of alluding to this subject. Bringing up one item, I expressed a hope that the tobacco monopoly might be made to give way for the sake of our Southern States, in some of which that commodity had always been grown, and could be produced in much larger quantity. Considering the present consumption of tobacco in France, I could not avoid the conclusion that if our tobacco were admitted into the country under a moderate duty, its increased consumption would so augment importation as in the end to make amends to France even in revenue for the loss of the monopoly. It was so I spoke; but His Majesty did not acquiesce. The monopoly yielded more than a hundred millions of francs, he said, in annual revenue, and he was not prepared to say what would be the effect of a change. Besides, even were he disposed to think well of it, *that* would make no difference; *his* was

but "a voice in the wilderness," and a public conviction long entertained in France on matters of trade was not to be easily changed.

My hopes for our tobacco were in some degree damped by these remarks from this source. I did not, however, consider the subject as put to rest, meaning to return to it again with the King's Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose enlightened mind I knew; but I dropped the conversation about it at the Palace. It would have been out of place in me to originate this part of the conversation; but the King opened the way to it, and I was aware of the business mind and habits of His Majesty; knew that he was industrious; looked into every branch of the public administration; informed himself of every thing, seeking out details as well as principles; and therefore naturally inferred that his experience and knowledge, gained throughout the vicissitudes of an eventful life in various countries, would predispose him but the more to seek truth upon the throne. The King beckoned me to the chair next to him when he began the conversation; this memorandum of which will come under the notice of my Government. Generally he stands while in conversation with the foreign ministers.

In mine with him this evening relating to Mexico, I was led to infer, but it was only an inference, that he silently desires our success, now that he thinks the war is sure to go on; but that

he is distrustful of our power to command success to the extent we suppose.

November 16. Dined yesterday at Mr. Rumpft's, chargé d'affaires of the Hanse towns, who entertained the Diplomatic Corps. He married an American lady, which seems a link to my country. If this may have led to the commencement of friendly relations between us in Paris, his own worth strengthens them. After dinner I go to Mr. Walsh's.

November 19. We dine at Mr. Hottinguer's, the eminent banker, long known in Paris for his friendly hospitality to Americans, and his just estimate of our country. In conversation in the course of the evening on the state of public opinion in France, outside of partisan circles, it was stated, as a good omen of the financial condition of the country, that the large loan of upwards of three hundred millions of francs, authorized by the Chambers at the close of the session, had gone off well, notwithstanding the manner in which opposition papers assailed the terms. The fact was mentioned as showing public confidence in the Government, and as auspicious to the further prosperity of the country, the loan being for the benefit of the public works. It was said that the terms were thought fair by first-class business men who had taken no part of the loan.

November 26. At St. Cloud last night, with my daughters. All who were there were specially invited. It was not a very large assemblage. It was given in honor of the anniversary of the marriage of the King and Queen, though not so announced in the invitation.

Arriving at the Palace, we ascended the grand staircase and moved about in the rooms where the company were assembling. In one were seen Gobelins tapestry, representing paintings with such perfect skill that they might readily have been taken for the originals. The Royal Family were all present. The Duchess of Orleans had by her side her two children, the Count de Paris and Duke de Chartres, the former heir apparent of the French throne. The Diplomatic Corps were nearly all present; the King's Ministers, and others connected with the court. The King and Queen spoke to all present with their usual cordiality, the latter using words to my daughters of kindly import. Soon the King and Queen advanced, the King with the Queen on his arm, into a verdant passage or avenue, called the orangerie, somewhat serpentine, which opened from one of the rooms, and led I knew not whither at first. They were followed by the Royal Family and rest of the company, the ladies walking together two and two, preceded by those of the Royal Family—the gentlemen all follow-

ing in the same order. The Duchess of Orleans and her young sons remained in the rooms we left. The orangerie was partially lighted up. Roses, jessamine, flowering shrubs and orange-trees, were ranged on each side as we walked through the middle. Its termination brought us into the theatre annexed to the palace. This was brilliantly lighted up. The company took their seats in the boxes, the King, Queen, and Royal Family going into the large box in front of the stage. The parterre was already filled with military officers, or appearing to be such, in full uniform. Music welcomed all as we entered the theatre through the avenue of flowers and sweets. The play was "Le Bouquet de l'Infanta," a comic opera in three acts, followed by the "Hungarian Dancers" as an after piece. Between the two pieces, the servants of the Palace, in their liveries, handed refreshments to the company in the boxes. Good humor prevailed, as if Thalia had suddenly descended among us on her wings. The King seemed to forget public solicitudes in an occasional smile which the Queen shared. Others of the Royal Family joined with the company in mirth more audible as the actors drew it out. The decorations of the theatre were of crimson and gold, and the whole scene was beautiful. It was quite late before we got home.

November 29. We go to-night to the reception

at St. Cloud. A large company, the Royal Family, Diplomatic Corps, and others. The beautiful play we had seen here a few nights ago was fresh in our memories. The Queen receives all with the gentleness and dignity ever belonging to her.

November 30. Attend the funeral of Mr. Tschann, the Diplomatic Representative of Switzerland. The Diplomatic Corps attend; also M. Guizot and some of the King's Ministers. Two of the royal carriages were there, and other attentions had been shown by the King, grateful to the friends of the deceased. The funeral proceeded from the domicile of Mr. Rumpft, chargé d'affaires from the Hanse towns, and friend of the deceased.

December 21. Last night we were at Mr. Walsh's. The party was large. Among those present were the venerable Humboldt; both the Dupins; M. de Tocqueville; a grandson of Lafayette, in the person of Mr. Oscar Lafayette; some of the De Kalb family, whose French ancestors rendered gallant services in our Revolution; and others of note in French society. Many of our own country, including ladies, were there. The whole evening went off well; the animated courtesy of our consul, and kind attentions of the ladies of his family to all present, making it agreeable to all.

There was much intellectual conversation, and much that was sprightly, with music at intervals.

December 23. The king held a reception at the Tuileries last night, having left St. Cloud for the season. I took Mr. Bancroft, United States Minister in London, here at present on a visit. The King did not appear, having a bad cold. The Queen received everybody, making apologies for the King with her accustomed grace. All were in black, under a court mourning for the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Duchess of Parma, and widow of Napoleon.

December 25. At M. Guizot's last night, happy to take Mr. Bancroft with me. Baron Humboldt was there, most of the Diplomatic Corps and others. Among the English present was Dr. Huet, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to whom I was introduced; a person of high repute for learning and ability. He spoke very highly of the works of our Mr. Wheaton and Judge Story in the fields of jurisprudence and public law, seeming familiar with them.

December 26. The near close of the year may be a suitable time for noting down a few thoughts on the state of parties, and condition of France, since my arrival in the summer.

I had hardly been a day at Havre before I heard of the unpopularity of the King and his govern-

ment. When I got to Paris I found complaints against both greatly increased. In official circles, and those in intercourse with them, I received, indeed, other impressions; but out of these discontent and crimination were more or less heard. The press was pouring forth its daily fire upon all public measures. One paper, and only one of any account that I could at first hear of, gave the ministers support. This was the Journal des Débats. The general fault-finding appeared to be coupled with distrust of the King. He was accused of being selfish, hypocritical, crafty; forgetting his promises, forgetting his duties to the nation, in exclusive devotedness to the interests of his family, and perpetuation of his dynasty. The Republicans said he had deceived them, and the Legitimists continued to be his foes. The Bonapartists had no sympathies with him, though the remains of the Emperor had been brought from St. Helena in a frigate commanded by the Prince de Joinville, and his statue replaced on the column in Place Vendome, equally by his orders; for those things were imputed to selfish promptings. The Bonapartists, however, were few. They did not exist as a party by any external symbols, and if alive anywhere were necessarily against him. All combined their voices to render Louis Philippe unpopular, and draw down upon him suspicion and hatred. At a great reform banquet held at the Chateau Rouge, near Paris,

where more than a thousand persons were said to be at the tables, and among them many members of the Chamber of Deputies, the acts of the Government since 1830 were sweepingly condemned, and every unfavorable implication was embodied against the King that ingenuity could work up or party inflame. I heard of affiliated societies throughout the country, simultaneous movements in which were to take place on his death as the signal; for it seemed admitted that his own reign was not to be disturbed. At his death the movement was to come on; none professing to know what was to follow or who be uppermost. I heard of a society in Paris holding nocturnal meetings, where the sons of peers might be seen, and denunciations heard against the king and whole policy of his government, sometimes in terms polished but significant; at others in the French vernacular.

Seeking for the causes of all this, I was brought to a stand. Were they real? If so, where should I find the proofs of so many and such grave accusations? It was not for me to take sides with any of the parties in France. I was only a looker-on. I desired to make my inquiries in that spirit. Was France going down? was her prosperity undermined? was taxation weighing ruinously or heavily upon her? had her poor increased? where was I to look for signs of depression and misery? Or was the King a tyrant, or trained in a school of idleness

or vice, or goaded on by a guilty ambition because looking to the continuance of his dynasty? Were the laws neglected, or the people tongue-tied? On the contrary, the King and his Ministers were governing through the laws. The press was abundantly free, as witnessed by the unsparing attacks upon the King, his Ministers, and measures. If I looked to the country, instead of the newspapers, or speeches at political banquets, I should have thought I had come to a country abounding in prosperity of every kind and full of contentment. France appeared as well off as could be expected of any country where opulence, prosperity, and power, existing on a large scale, must have drawbacks. None seemed to doubt that her agriculture had improved, and perhaps never was as good as at present; that her manufactures flourished and were flourishing; and it was shown, by statistical returns, that her foreign commerce and internal trade had been advancing more rapidly during the present reign, than for half a century anterior. Production was everywhere increasing, and tranquillity everywhere prevailed. If alleged that a large army kept her tranquil by being ready to enforce the laws, though of their effective execution otherwise I heard no complaints, the army she maintained was not larger in proportion than that of other great continental Powers, upon whom she had to keep watch, as they kept watch on her. If

taxes were heavier than sometimes when Napoleon was in his glory, they derived no aid, as then, from the contributions of conquered states to his military chest and other wants of his Imperial Treasury; besides that taxes in this King's time have been augmented by calls for great public works, which, when completed, will add to the permanent riches and strength of France; as the fortifications round Paris, recently constructed at heavy cost, will add to its security. The loan of three hundred and fifty millions of francs raised to make good the Government's portion of the money to be applied towards the public works, had shown the pecuniary ability of the country, in the fact that more than a thousand millions of francs were supplied by individual subscription and payments.

The increase of Paris had been great and striking during his reign. All agreed to this. Entire new streets and avenues were built up. Ancient gardens had given place to rows of lofty houses. The Champs Elysées, rural in appearance a few years ago, were fast becoming part of the city. Other parts, old or unsightly, had been renovated and improved; so that, with all that Napoleon did for Paris, this King, it was said, had done more, except in setting up trophies of war. He had asked for no new Palace. He had, in effect, divested himself of the best of them all. He no longer used

Versailles as a residence for himself, or any of his family; but had converted it, partly at his own expense, into a grand museum, where memorials of the history of France, her statesmen, warriors, kings, philosophers, authors, poets, her names of renown in all fields, from the earliest times to the present, may be seen and their examples studied.

Her electoral law is very bad. It is a contrast to much else indicating advancement and liberality. Two hundred thousand voters for choosing the whole representative body of a nation so populous, spirited and free, was a mockery upon representation. Yet it is not very long since free England chose her House of Commons by voters not greatly exceeding these in number; and if the meliorations brought about in France of late, formed any rule for the future, it might not unreasonably be inferred that the number of her electors would in good time be adequately enlarged, to meet the new age she was in and her own wishes for a better electoral law. England petitioned and clamored for parliamentary reform, and continued to abuse her rulers for not granting it, more than half a century before getting what she now has.

The King is beset with complications and dangers. This must be the case with any King of France. It is difficult to be king and republican on the same throne. The French are not the people they were. They have made large steps forward in

political freedom; the ultimate fruits of the old revolution, and of the constitutional governments or charters under which they have lived since the revolution. They are bold and impulsive. They will find fault with their rulers, when there is cause and when there is not. Thus does England forever. Take any period of her prosperity; and the opposition, in Parliament and out of Parliament, stoutly deny it all. They make out that she is oppressed, ground down by taxation and debt, with ruin staring her in the face, from which nothing can save her but turning out the ministers. So act the United States under party spirit. You can always prove any amount of corruption, folly, and every thing bad in government, if you adopt the outcry of the opposition. If Louis Philippe desires to perpetuate his dynasty, what King would not? What did Napoleon do for his family? or rather what was it that he did not do for all of them? And if Louis Philippe aims at continuing one of his sons on the throne, by striving to make the country prosperous by a pacific policy, after the exhausting wars France has gone through, is that wrong? His sons are not drones. They have been well educated, are said to be intelligent, and known to be brave. One charge against the King is, that he appointed the Duke d'Aumale Governor of Algeria, because he was his son; forgetting that among his qualifications is the

gallantry he conspicuously displayed, in fighting against the fierce and warlike natives of that land.

I cannot close without a glance at the Spanish marriage question as mingling with French politics since I have been here. Some think war may grow out of it between France and England, involving half the world before it ends, the United States with the rest; for to that it might come in case of war. I am not of this way of thinking. France would not begin it; and is it to be imagined that England would stir up a war for such a cause; excite its flames because an ancient treaty* interdicted such a marriage; when, since that day, France and England have so changed places in America, Asia, throughout the globe and upon the ocean, as hardly to recognise each other, from the preponderating gains of England? That the latter, with her sagacity, would provoke war for such a phantom, seems incredible. The bare idea of it may well excuse sensibility in Louis Philippe.

The foregoing thoughts are hazarded with all distrust, but in all sincerity. The substance of them has been distinctly imparted to my government; more extended on some points, less so on others.

December 28. Yesterday the King opened both

* Treaty of Utrecht, A.D. 1713.

the Chambers in person by a speech, which he read. I witnessed the ceremony from the box allotted to the foreign ministers. Official persons, civil and military, in great number, the appearance of the national guard and troops, with other pageantry, made up an imposing array; and good order prevailed. When the Queen entered the chamber, she was greeted with exclamations of Vive la Reine! Vive la Reine! The King when he came ascended a platform, richly carpeted to receive him. As he approached his chair, under a canopy facing the peers and deputies, they all rose, as did all within the chamber. Vive le Roi! broke forth from all parts of the assemblage. When he acknowledged this by bowing, the same exclamations were renewed. He then proceeded to read his speech.

It was not long, but comprehensive. Scarcity of food no longer affected the country; France had not felt, as severely as some other States, the late commercial shocks; the great public works were advancing, and, with the co-operation of the Chambers, would go on, and in their completion, open new sources of prosperity to the whole kingdom; the receipts would cover the expenditures under all the ordinary heads; the duty on salt would be reduced, and the postage on letters lessened; the relations of France with foreign Powers inspired a confidence that the peace of the world would not be interrupted,—these were among the

things announced. He said, the more he advanced in life, the more did he feel it his duty to consecrate to the service of his country all the energy still left to him; in the midst of agitation and blind passion, he was supported by the conviction that France possessed, in her constitutional monarchy, the means of surmounting all obstacles, and satisfying all the material and moral interests of her people; and he concluded with exhorting all to join in maintaining social order and public liberty as guaranteed by the charter.

1848.

January 8. Attended Mr. Guizot's reception last night. One of the ministers told me that the famous Arab chieftain, Abd-el-Kader, who so long stood out against the French arms in Algeria, was about to come to Paris, under permission from the French Government; but that it would not allow him to go to Egypt, which was his desire.

The late letter of the Duke of Wellington, on the little difficulty the French would have in landing an army on the shores of England with the aid of steam, was spoken of in the rooms. I talked about it with two Englishmen who were present, who both regretted its publication. It was addressed to a general in the British service, Sir John Burgoyne, written with no view to publication; but by some mischance got into print. The veteran warrior

unbosoms himself to his military friend, and seems to do it with a comprehensive eye. Something, perhaps, is to be set down to the account of the duke's uneasy feeling at seeing his country less prepared than he thinks she ought to be. Yet one of the Englishmen drew hope from what the duke himself says in the letter: namely, that if the army were increased by as much as half a million would pay for, and militia organized and trained to the number of 150,000, he would himself, with all the modern facilities for transporting and concentrating troops, be willing to engage for the defence of England on her own ground.

January —. Yesterday we dined at Mrs. Haight's, of New York, now residing in Paris; a dinner kindly given to us. The company, Americans, French and English; so well composed as to make the whole evening pass off very agreeably.

January 9. This evening I dined at the Duke de Caze's, Grand Referendary of France. The dinner very large, consisting chiefly of official persons. English gentlemen were there, the Duke having formerly been French Ambassador in London.

M. Guizot was of the company. I spoke to him on the case of Brown, a seaman from Boston, confined in jail in Paris on a heavy criminal charge, on whose behalf I had already written an official

note to the French Government. I intercede for him informally by a few words before going in to dinner. I admit that appearances are against him; but that, on examining the particulars of his case, I found extenuating circumstances, as they struck me; and I plead for mercy. The minister says he will consider the case.

January 16. Dined yesterday at the Prussian Minister's, Baron d'Arnim. The Diplomatic Corps in large number, nearly all the French Ministry, and other persons of prominence, made up the distinguished company.

In the drawing-room I had conversation aside with two official persons, which had reference to some of the public men here. Want of time alone would prevent a memorandum of it. It was very piquant; and these things had often better not be written down. Our host, besides being distinguished as a diplomatist and otherwise, was so obligingly courteous to me, in my early intercourse with the Diplomatic Corps here, that I cannot forbear this mention of it.

January 22. Last night we were at Mr. Guizot's reception. Next we went to the Countess of Sandwich's, and afterwards to the Turkish Ambassador's. Mr. Guizot told me that Brown, the Boston seaman, would be liberated. "He is a bad fellow, we fear,"

he said; "but, from the report of the case to me, there are some extenuating circumstances; and we desire to give every consideration to your wishes." I thanked him; and so ends that case.

January 27. At the Tuileries last night. King, Queen, and royal family present; the assemblage a very large one—peers, deputies, and many others, attending in full number. All were in black, except military officers and others in official costume, under a court mourning for Madame Adelaide, the King's sister, who died the last of December. When this event took place, cards were already out from the King for a grand dinner to the Diplomatic Corps and high officers of State, as is usual at the Tuileries at the beginning of the year. But the dinner was immediately given up by countermanding notices to us all.

Last night was the first occasion of our reassembling at the Palace since this death occurred. The King having spoken to me, as to others of the Diplomatic Corps, I afterwards passed on into another room, preparatory to going home. While talking with a gentleman there, a message came to me by the Duke de Rochefoucault, one of the aides of the King, informing me that the King wished to see me. I returned with the duke to the room where he still was. His Majesty at once opened a conversation about our affairs in Mexico. "How do you

go on with Mexico now, Mr. Rush?" the King asked. I took the grounds I had formerly taken, reinforcing them under new points presented in the President's message to Congress since my last conversation with His Majesty. In this conversation, the King seemed to be awake, for the first time, to the success of our arms. He said nothing of our inability to take and hold the country, which I said we should probably do, until the altered tone of Mexico would justify us in relaxing our hold. The King heard my remarks without making any comment; but did not swerve from his doctrines of peace and moderation. He brought the conversation to a close by reiterating his confidence in the wisdom and policy of that course for all nations in the present improving state of the world.

January 29. We were at a musical party last night at Mme. Hottinguer's, where Castellan sings. We went afterwards to a similar party at the Countess of Sandwich's, where we heard Alboni and Persiani, two other fashionable singers.

January 30. Dined yesterday at the Turkish Ambassador's. The dinner immense—sixty probably at table, if not more; the whole French Cabinet, as far as I could observe; the whole Diplomatic Corps, with other official persons, and persons not official, but prominent otherwise. The Ambassador and his

suite received the company, as all were successively announced, with a dignity and grace very striking. The whole arrangements of the dinner were in the European forms; and no dinner of the same size could have gone off better.

February 2. We were last night at the reception of Count and Countess de Circourt; he known to high public and scientific men in Paris, and the friend and correspondent of our Prescott; the countess's conversation and accomplishments contributing to draw the best intercourse to their rooms. We were often there, and derived pleasure otherwise from their society; and I, advantage also, from his familiarity with French affairs, and his kindly manner of imparting his knowledge of them.

February 9. We were last night at a ball at the Austrian Ambassador's, Count d'Appony; the rooms brilliantly filled, the Countess d'Appony doing the honors of the night most graciously; the supper and whole entertainment very distingué.

February 12. And last night we had a similar entertainment at the British Embassy, the domicil being even larger. A thousand or twelve hundred were in the rooms, it was supposed. Dancing continued until a late hour. The ample arrangements for the supper and refreshments accommodated all;

and the Marchioness of Normanby seemed not to tire in her attentions to all.

February 14. We were this evening at M. Jollivet's, a member of the Chamber of Deputies; the apartments small, but fitted up beautifully. Nowhere that we go in Paris do we see rooms alike. All differ in appearance and decorations; yet all please the eye. Mr. Walsh was of the company. I talk with him on French affairs. He thinks the Ministry in danger. I listen the more to him, from his knowledge of France and some of her chief public men. He is full of information, derived from a long residence here.

February —. Dined with the Minister of Marine, the Duke de Montebello. The company large and official. The members of the French Cabinet were announced by their titles of office, as at the dinner of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Napoleon's career makes known to us the origin of our entertainer's hereditary title, which he wears so becomingly. He is established in a fine hotel. The same may be said of all the residences of the French Cabinet—the Government providing them.

After dinner, I go to the reception of the Minister of Finance; after that, to M. Guizot's.

February 18. Dined yesterday at M. Sauzet's,

the President of the Chamber of Deputies; a large official dinner, at which the Foreign and Home Ministers were all, I believe, present, with many others.

I sat next to M. Guizot, and was led to speak of our prospects in the Pacific since our successes in Mexico. I alluded to the Mediterranean as a "French Lake," according to Napoleon's term, and to Selden's "Mare Clausum," as doctrine the English liked. The Minister said little under these heads; but what he did say harmonized with the King's policy,—peace, and no aggression.

February 20. At the Tuileries last night, where there was a large assemblage. Many persons of rank and power were distinguishable in the rooms.

Amidst the restraints usual at the Palace, it was, nevertheless, observable that conversation seeming to be earnest, in subdued tones, was going on in little groups, where Cabinet Ministers and military officers might be recognised. The King, not far from whom I was standing, advanced to me, and, alluding to the approaching banquet in Paris, expressed himself thus: "Order will be maintained. The Government has taken every precaution, and we are under no apprehension."

Leaving that subject, and referring to the rumor that General Scott was under arrest and suspended from his command in Mexico, the King remarked

that he knew nothing of the causes for this step; but that his military operations appeared to have been skilful, and certainly the results must earn him glory with his country as achievements of war.

February 21. At a reception at M. Thiers's last night. It was small, but full of interest from the topics we had, and the character and conversation of this remarkable Deputy, Financier, Parliamentary debater, and Historian.

February 22. We were last night at an invited party at the Duchess de Rochefoucault's. The Diplomatic Corps were there, and others. The party not large, but very agreeable. The Reform banquet, so close at hand, was spoken of; but no one seemed under any uneasiness.

From this party we go to a large ball at the Prince de Ligne's, the Belgian Ambassador. The whole Parisian world of fashion seemed to be there. Not the Arab chief himself, Abd-el-Kader, but one of his train, was seen among the circles, richly dressed in the costume of his native land. He was pallid and silent; but a wounded, restless spirit was discernible in his dark eye. The glitter of a European ball was evidently lost upon him. The banquet was talked of in intermissions of the dance, but in no feeling of apprehension, and I continue to

hear that the Government feels confident that order will be maintained.

February 23. A Revolution has come like a thunder-clap. All Paris in consternation; barricades, troops, cannon, mobs, cavalry in quick movement, some in full gallop, wheeling into one street and issuing from another; numerous heads looking out from upper windows in amazement. This was the state of things yesterday.

I went to the office of the Legation, Rue de Matignon, at one o'clock. Crossed the bridge by the Tuileries, the one at Place Concorde being blocked up by the military. Soldiers and crowds of people all along the streets. Stay half an hour at the office. Leave it to go home, the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Martin, accompanying me. First send Mr. Stanton to my house the shortest way he can get there, to tell my daughters not to go out in the carriage. As we turn into Rue St. Honoré, increasing crowds are seen, and more troops. Some of the people were breaking lamps. As the troops press towards the crowd to keep it back, they cry out *Vive la Ligne!* the crowd wanting to propitiate the troops by this cry. The distance was considerable to my house; and as we had the river to cross, we could only get along slowly. Sometimes the crowd

obstructed our way entirely. At length we reached the archways leading to the bridge by the Tuileries. Here we found all closed and guarded by troops. Mr. Martin makes known that I am the Minister of the United States, and desire to get to my house. The officer replies that his orders are positive to allow no one to pass. It was no time to seek a permit from the Government. I try a bridge further on, and in that way reach home. Evening was now approaching. Mr. Martin left me before I got home to return quickly to the office, in case of danger to the papers of the Legation, for all was uproar, and none could say what was coming.

At ten at night I get a note from the Marchioness of Wellesley, written under anxiety to know if I thought she was safe in Paris.

Thursday, the 24th. Here at my residence, 63 Rue de Lille, we heard the noise of cavalry through the night. Throughout the day (yesterday) our servants were bringing in rumors of firing and bloodshed on the other side of the river. All is rumor and uncertainty. People seem stunned. The fighting is said to be in the direction of the Boulevards and Montmartre. Mr. George Sumner, of Boston, came in to see us, and gave graphic accounts of what was going on. He said the municipal guards were in great odium. This corps fights for the King and Ministers. At five o'clock I walked

over to Hotel Brighton, Rue Rivoli, to see the Marchioness of Wellesley, (originally) of Annapolis, Maryland, and grand-daughter of Mr. Carroll. I found it hard to get there. Place Concorde was lined with cavalry and the municipal guards; the latter mounted. Cannon was also placed in range. I told the marchioness I thought it might be best to leave Paris, unless she had strong reasons for remaining; but that, if she remained, I would be ready to afford her the shelter of my Legation if desired. I caught a rumor, while out, that the Ministers had all resigned, M. Guizot alone remaining until a new ministry could be got together. The Banquet was forbidden at the last moment. Hence the suddenness with which the bolt fell. At ten at night I drove over to the office of the Legation. Crossed the bridge of the Invalides, and met with no obstruction in that quarter. Found all safe at the office.

February 25. The revolutionary movement advances with inconceivable rapidity. Fighting, bloodshed, dismay, everywhere. Constant fighting all last night. All manner of reports. No coming at facts—except that the Ministers have certainly resigned. Another report is, that the King sent for Count Molé yesterday to form a new ministry; but that would not do, he not being an oppositionist, and the troops of the line having shown reluctance

to fire upon the people; some refusing altogether. The national guards would not go against the people. In this emergency the reports say that General Lamoricière rode through the streets with his aides, declaring, in the King's name, that Odillon Barrot (prominent in opposition) was to form a new ministry, and that Mr. Thiers would join him. Another report is, that the Duchess of Orleans had entreated the King to let her accompany, on horseback, Odillon Barrot and Mr. Thiers through the streets, and appeal in person to the people; but the King would not consent.

Friday, the 25th. The belief seems to be that a complete Revolution has been effected, the people having the upper hand everywhere, and none of the troops or national guards any longer acting against them. They are in possession of the Tuileries, made a bonfire of the King's carriages, the King, Queen and Royal Family escaping through the gardens. I go to Quai d'Orsay, in front of my house; see the people looking out of the Palace windows; see them throwing furniture out of the windows; see them pass by the place where I stood. They shout out, with guns and sabres in their hands; they display trophies brought from the Palace, such as patés, cooked meats, bread, and other eatables. Also caps, artificial flowers, and other finery. Soldiers mix in with the people and

shout too. Some of the soldiers stick loaves of bread on the points of their bayonets, holding them up exultingly. Anxious to know how things are at the Legation, I leave my stand at Quai d'Orsay and attempt to go there by the bridge of the Invalides, it being impossible to cross any other. I go on foot. Arriving at this bridge, I see an immense crowd on the other side, women as well as men, all hallooing, singing, dancing, and shouting. Some are rolling empty wine-casks along the ground —so says my servant George, who is with me. Others hold them over their heads with uplifted arms, sending forth louder shouts and playing off antics, as if inflamed with drink. I do not cross the bridge. On this side, broken squads of the municipal guard are to be seen riding here and there, and detachments of horse artillery hurrying, I know not where. All is wild disorganization. I return to my house, after being baffled in this attempt to reach the office, fatigued and glad to get home.

At home once more, Mr. Martin comes in with the first assurance that every thing is safe at the office of the Legation. He had been out the whole morning, seeking information. His report is, that the Revolution is over; that the King signed an abdication reluctantly, in favor of the Count de Paris, the Duchess of Orleans to be Regent; that she had gone to the Chamber with the Count de Paris and her other young son, the Duke de

Nemours, accompanying her; that on her way she was surrounded by the people, who did not ill treat her; that when she first entered the Chamber, things seemed somewhat encouraging to her, but that soon afterwards all was dismay and terror. Odillon Barrot made a short speech in her favor, or attempted it, but in vain; the people, with muskets and sabres, broke in tumultuously, said it was too late, got into the seats of the members, threatened them, pointed muskets at them, and drove them out; Ledru Rollin spoke, and Lamartine, but could hardly be heard amidst the uproar. That the members fled in different directions, some of the opposition members going off with the people to the Hotel de Ville, where they set up a Provisional Government, proclaiming it to be Republican, and calling out the names of the persons to form it. That the Duchess of Orleans, with her children and the Duke de Nemours, escaped with difficulty, but were safe; and that the King and Queen were supposed to have gone to St. Cloud, in the first hackney-coach they could find, or got off by railway to Rouen, wishing to reach the coast, and cross to England. The rest of the Royal Family had gone, nobody knew where. Mr. Martin went on to state that all accounts seemed to agree in things having gone favorably for the King as soon as the people learned that Odillon Barrot and Thiers were ministers; that they considered this the triumph of their

cause; they had carried their point over King and ministers, and were rejoicing; but that afterwards, when the regular troops fired upon the people from the garden of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, the tide turned; that this firing was not from any orders of the Government, but through some mistake; but it killed a good many of the people in that wide street, exasperated all, and swelled their numbers tenfold. They flew to arms from all quarters; they neither would, nor could, hear explanations when musketry and cannon were roaring; fighting was renewed with double fury; the Tuileries came near to being sacked before the inmates could escape, and the Monarchy fell to pieces.

I almost ask myself, Can this be a reality? Only on the night of the twentieth I was at the Tuileries, the King, Queen, and Royal family feeling secure in fancied strength. Every thing brilliant around them; ladies to have graced the highest, or any spheres; functionaries of state, and military officers; all the patronage, all the honors, of a great monarchy in their hands,—its army in their service. So it was a week ago. Now the King and Queen are outcasts; destitute for the present, and uncertain of their fate. The others, all scattered and gone.

Many Americans call on us to-day under these astounding events. We talk them over. Some stay to dine with us, Mr. Martin among them; and we have Mr. and Mrs. Coppinger, of Boston. At

table the topics are renewed. We compare notes of the marvellous rapidity of the movement and its results. Before going to dinner, Mrs. Coppinger had assisted in making a Flag of the United States for the Legation. I express a hope that no necessity to use it would arise. I had never used one, and had none. No outrages on private property had as yet been committed, that I had heard of, much less on the houses of Foreign Ministers, during the raging of this tempest. On the contrary, it was stated that some of the fighting bands among the people, on hearing that thieves had broken into a shop to rob it, shot them on the spot.

February 26. The Revolution, it would seem, is all over. A Provisional Government was proclaimed yesterday, late in the day, declared to be Republican, and its members are announced in the morning papers, as follows: viz. Dupont (*de l'Eure*), Lamartine, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Marie; these forming the Executive Head.

Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Albert, to be Secretaries.

The Provisional Government by decree appoint Dupont (*de l'Eure*) President of the Council, without portfolio; Lamartine, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Crémieux, Minister of Justice; Ledru Rollin, Minis-

ter of the Interior; General Bedeau, Minister of War; Goudchaux, Minister of Finance; Bethmont, Minister of Commerce; Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction; Marie, Minister of Public Works; General Cavaignac, Governor of Algeria; Garnier Pagès, Mayor of Paris; Flotard, Secretary-General; Colonel de Courtais, to be Chief in Command of the National Guard. These appointments to be provisional; but the persons filling them empowered to act in all things needful.

Of the foregoing names, some were widely and favorably known by their writings or otherwise; and I obtain through one of my countrymen, long a resident in Paris, information as to others as yet less known.

The Provisional Government proceeds to perform as many of the functions cast upon it as circumstances will permit. It obtains the allegiance of the Army and Navy; secures for itself the existing agencies of the late Government in Paris and throughout the departments; and does other things to impart immediate efficiency to its operations. The conduct of Lamartine commands admiration from all. Already he has told the people, from the front of the Hotel de Ville, disregarding a thousand muskets levelled at him, that they should not have the red flag (for which they clamored) as the symbol of the new Republic; but the tri-color, which had made the tour of the World with glory,

while the red flag had only made the tour of the Champs de Mars, trailed through torrents of blood. This made the muskets drop, saved Paris from horrors, and inspires hope.

Admiral Baudin accepts the command of the fleet. The war stores of all kinds at the École Militaire have been secured by the new Government; and courts of law recognize its authority.

The Bank of France has accepted bills drawn upon it, promising their payment in cash at maturity. Shops are reopening in Paris; and to-day it is stated that Baron Rothschild is prepared to fulfil all his engagements towards the heavy loan effected by the late Government.

Saturday, the 26th. On this same day Major Poussin calls upon me. He makes an earnest appeal to me to recognise the new Republic in my capacity as Minister of the United States, and says it will be of unspeakable service. He believes this,—believes it fully; and knows, is sure, that my appearance at the Hotel de Ville to make the recognition in that capacity, will be very acceptable to the Provisional Government. He entreats me to take the step: to-day, if possible; if not, to-morrow.

It may be supposed that I was little prepared for this call. The Revolution had been sudden in the extreme. Hardly could we believe our eyes in seeing a Republic, where a Monarchy stood firm,

apparently, a week ago; and which was only first attacked by force five days ago. Were the barricades yet removed? Frenchmen might think the Republic stood firm; but could the world believe it?

I so expressed myself. Major Poussin tried to obviate these objections; putting forward, as one ground, that my taking the step would add immediate strength from abroad to France in her new position. Would I withhold my aid to Republicanism? Did I not wish well to that cause? Yes: he was sure I did.

I did, was my answer; but that was not the point between us. Other considerations must be weighed. I had no notice, as Minister of the United States, even of the existence of the Provisional Government. Without that notice, to say no more, could I in my official capacity take any step?

He thought forms might be overlooked in a case of such magnitude, giving some of his reasons; and, in connection with them, told me that the members of the Provisional Government had been agreed upon the night preceding the day they were announced at the Hotel de Ville, viz., last Wednesday night. I need not repeat all he said on that head.

Our interview closed by my telling him I would reflect on the subject, and that he should hear from me. In the course of the interview, he mentioned new facts, to show the energy with which the Pro-

visional Government was acting, and how fast all classes were giving in their adhesion to it.

The subject of Major Poussin's visit was not new to my thoughts, though his visit was unexpected. My surmise was, that he had not come without the knowledge of the Provisional Government, but, for obvious reasons, had no authority to say so. I reflected on the situation I was placed in. I had previously known Major Poussin as an honorable Frenchman. When a young man, then in the French army, he accompanied General Bernard to the United States, soon after Napoleon's downfall. The fame and abilities of General Bernard, as a high officer in the engineer branch of Napoleon's service, commended him to my Government, for the superintendence and construction of works belonging to our national defences; and Major, then Captain, Poussin was his young assistant in those important operations. He then became a naturalized citizen of the United States; and I knew him then. He was on all accounts entitled to my esteem; and I was on the best personal relations with him in Paris, before the Revolutionary tornado which brought him to me on this anxious errand for his country. Still, my own judgment was to guide my steps. The responsibilities of my public station were upon me. What would my Country expect from me? and what did I owe to my Country

under this emergency? These were the questions I was to deal with.

I did not view the King's Government, just overthrown, as did the opposition to it among the French. I was aloof from their party conflicts. To have mingled in them would have been improper. I was as a neutral. I desired to think well of the late Government, rather than ill. I aimed at conciliating it in all just ways, as befitting the diplomatic trust, and as tending to shed a good influence on my steps as Minister, when seeking to serve in France my Country and countrymen. As long as the King was on the throne, I felt the propriety of this course, and pursued it. But the French people were themselves the arbiters of the conduct of their Government, and the sole judges of what form of Government they would have. Whether a majority of them could have had opportunities of expressing a preference for a Republic, in the first moments after the Monarchy fell, was not an inquiry for me to propound. The United States were a Republic. It was their rule, in all their foreign intercourse, to acknowledge every new Government abroad, when seen to exist *de facto*, without inquiring by what means it was set up, or what its form. I might be thought hasty in inferring the new Government of France to be a Government *de facto*, so very soon; yet it was apparent to me, as to all, that it was exercising the

actual powers of Government, in ways the most telling, with none to thwart it. No party, no class, was moving against it. All seemed to acquiesce, silently, if not share the enthusiasm that was rallying all to its support. Would it be right or expedient in me to wait for instructions before recognising it? A month, or more, must elapse before instructions could reach me. Was it for me to be backward, when France appeared to be looking to us? The Nation whose blood flowed with ours in our Revolution, and whose sympathies in our cause were still a tradition, ever ready to excite our sympathies for her? Most especially would these spring into life, when she announced herself to the world as a Republic. I could not be blind to the satisfaction with which our People would regard her great name as enlisted on the side of Republicanism. True, I looked anxiously on so great a Republican experiment. Yet I was unwilling to scrutinize too closely, at first, the considerations which might seem at war with the hope of its full success. I therefore felt it my duty, after weighing every consideration, to lend my Representative name towards cheering it on. I believed I should have the approbation of the Government and people of the United States by anticipating instructions. The old feeling of good will towards France was still so much in the American heart, that the formularies of diplomacy, founded in good sense for the most

part, would be grudgingly accepted as an excuse for lukewarmness in their Minister when she had started up before his eyes as a Republic. They would hail its first birth, and hope for the best afterwards. With the more reason would they do this, when so much of the high intellect, so many of the good names and a portion of the great names, of France, were seen to go with the Republic from the beginning.

Thoughts like these decided me to act, not instantly, but promptly. Before the dinner-hour, I walked over to the office of the Legation. The Secretary of Legation was there, and two of my countrymen: one, Mr. Corbin, of Virginia; the other, my friend and fellow-townsman from Philadelphia, Mr. Ridgway. I imparted to them my decision, with a summary of the reasons; adding, that I would forbear recognition until hearing from M. Lamartine that he is the organ of the new Government with foreign Powers. From the office of Legation I go to Major Poussin, Mr. Corbin accompanying me. I inform him of my determination, and that the time will have arrived for acting upon it when I am informed that M. Lamartine represents the Provisional Government in its intercourse with other nations. Major Poussin is unable to give me any present assurance on this point, but supposes there will be no difficulty. We talk about it, he zealously urging the great importance

of the step; I remarking on the propriety of what I have said about M. Lamartine.

Sunday, February 27. Appreciating the enlightened mind of our consul, Mr. Walsh, I communicate to him, in a personal interview, the course I am about to take. He concurs with me in the propriety of the step.

Unwilling to take it without the knowledge of the Diplomatic Corps, not one of whom had I seen since the Revolutionary whirlwind, I determine to inform the English Ambassador, and, after my interview with Mr. Walsh, I call on Lord Normanby. Meeting Mr. Martin on my way, I invite him to go with me. His well-trained judgment, concurring with that of Mr. Walsh in the propriety of the course I had resolved on, gives me the united voice of my Legation in its favor.

I found Lord Normanby at home. On the first intimation of my object, he mentioned what the morning papers had announced, but what I had not seen; namely, that I had already acknowledged the Provisional Government. I told him it was not the case, but that I was about to do so; perhaps to-morrow. It was not agreeable to me, I said, to separate myself from my colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps on this occasion, even temporarily, as would probably be the case; but I would not place myself in that situation without giving them

information, and trusted to their liberal estimate of my position for rightly viewing the step I was about to take. I was too far off from my country to wait for instructions. Before they could arrive, events here might show that I had fallen into undue delay. The Provisional Government proclaimed a Republic as the Government of France. France was our early friend and ally, when we were struggling for admission into the family of nations. She had now proclaimed a Government like ours; and my belief was that my Government would expect me to be prompt in acknowledging it. These were the considerations appealing to me in the present exigency. It was to this general effect I made known my intention; adding, that I came to him first, from the great intercourse between our two countries, as well as from my personal relations with himself.

It was plain that the English Ambassador had not expected such a communication from me. He asked if I designed it merely as a communication of my intention, and nothing more; or whether I wished the expression of any opinions from him. I said I should be happy to hear any opinions he would express. He then said, that as to my distance, it was indeed peculiar to my case; neither upon that, or the other considerations to which I had adverted, was it for him to offer any opinion; it was for me alone to attach to them whatever weight I thought fit. But other

wise my course, he must say, struck him as unusual. What was the Provisional Government? Had I yet received any information from itself of its own existence? He had not, and presumed that not one of the Diplomatic Corps had. Would I, under such circumstances, separate myself from them? Would it not be better that we should act in concert; see our senior, the Marquis Brignoli, confer with him and others, that we might know each others' views? Where would I go to make my acknowledgment? To whom address myself, in the absence of all notification from the true and proper organ of communication between the new Government and foreign Powers?

The foregoing embraces the substance of his remarks; which were enlarged upon and urged, as decidedly as an amicable manner and tone would allow. Our interview closed by my saying that what had fallen from him had not escaped my thoughts, and was reasonable in itself; and that I did not design to take the step until receiving a suitable communication from the Provisional Government of its own existence.

From the English Embassy I go to our own office of Legation. While there, Mr. Martin, who went in another direction on first leaving the English Embassy with me, comes in, and says he hears that M. Lamartine is now preparing an official note, announcing to the Foreign Ambassadors and

Ministers the existence of the new Government, and that he is now the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I request Mr. Martin to write a line in my name to Major Poussin, telling him what he has heard. Before the day closes, the official note to me from M. Lamartine arrives at my house corroborating the above. Its date is Sunday, the 27th.

This seems a fit occasion for saying, that an esteemed colleague of the Corps from South America, called on me as soon as the Provisional Government was formed, to learn my intentions as to recognising the new Republic. I told him it was my intention to recognise it at a period as early as I could properly see my way to that course. His motive in inquiring was, that he might prepare himself for following my example; and this, he presumed, would be the case (though he did not speak for them) with the other Diplomatic Representatives from South America accredited to the Government just overthrown.

Tuesday, February 29th. The official communication from M. Lamartine having given me the authentic document I desired, I yesterday proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, to perform the duty I had resolved upon. I wore my diplomatic dress, and requested the Secretary of Legation, whom I took with me, to wear his. I also invited Major Poussin to a seat in my carriage, as a naturalized citizen of

the United States, as well as Frenchman, possessing, as I believed, the confidence of the Provisional Government. I arrived at the Hotel de Ville at two o'clock. Persons were inside, waiting receptions, or business otherwise to be transacted with the Provisional Government. These came to a pause when I was announced.

Conducted into the room where the Provisional Government was sitting, I addressed myself to its President and Members, by saying; that, too distant from my Country to wait instructions, I sought the first opportunity of offering my felicitations to the Provisional Government, believing that my own Government would transmit to me its sanction of the early step I was taking; that the remembrance of the ancient friendship and alliance which once joined together France and the United States, was still strong among us; that the cry would be loud and universal in my Country for the prosperity and greatness of France under the new institutions she had proclaimed, subject to ratification by the national will; that, under similar institutions, the United States had enjoyed a long course of prosperity; that their institutions had been stable; and while they left to all other countries the choice of their own forms of government, they would naturally rejoice to see this great nation flourish under forms like their own, which had been found to unite social order with public liberty. I concluded with a repetition

of the hope General Washington expressed to the French Minister, Adet, at Philadelphia, in 1796:— that the "friendship of the two Republics might be commensurate with their existence."

M. Arago, on the part of the Provisional Government, replied, that its members received without surprise, but with lively pleasure, the assurance of the sentiments I expressed; France expected them from an ally to whom she now drew so close by the proclamation of a Republic; he thanked me, in the name of the Provisional Government, for the wishes I had expressed for the prosperity and greatness of France, and concluded with responding to the words I had recalled of the great founder of our Republic.

The venerable Dupont de l'Eure, official head of the Government, and eighty years of age, then approached me. Taking me by the hand, he said, "Permit me, in thus taking you by the hand, to assure you that the French people grasp that of the American nation."

The ceremony here ended. Three members of the Provisional Government accompanied me to the outside door of the Hotel de Ville. The guard presented arms. Loud cries of *Vive la République des États-Unis!* were heard. The building is one of the largest in Paris. Crowds were in front and all around it when I drove up. These had not diminished as I was coming away, and their

renewed shouts of *Vive la République des États-Unis!* went up freely.

March 1. My address to the Provisional Government appeared in the French newspapers of yesterday. It was not for me to publish it. I was only to transmit it to my own Government. My answer to M. Lamartine's official communication of the 27th of February, which informed me of his being charged with the duties of the Foreign Office, has also appeared in the newspapers, equally without my instrumentality.

This being reception-day at my house, large numbers of our countrymen and others call upon us. Among the latter, Count de Circourt. He gives me the whole account of Lamartine's triumph over the votaries of the red flag at the Hotel de Ville. He called it a critical and noble triumph. A savant; a man of letters; a patriot full of anxious hopes for his country, his words and manner were impressive. He gave details of the revolution which I had not heard before. All pointed to favorable changes in the French people, from the frenzies and cruelty of their old Revolution, when Queens were killed with frantic joy; religion tumbled down to enthrone a Goddess of Reason; cart-loads of victims daily sent to the guillotine; or tied back to back and thrown with horrid profanations into the Seine. But I need not here insert

the Count's details. My own entries of facts occurring during the days and nights of the Revolution, as derived from the Secretary of Legation, and my own opportunities of observation, were not contradicted by his details. I let them remain, therefore, as noted down, with only verbal corrections and no amplification, it being no part of my intention to write a full history of this Revolution, and willing to hope that it may disclose, in its further progress, as much improvement over the old one in rational liberty, as it has thus far shown in humanity.

March 2. The Archbishop of Paris, in an address to the clergy, holds up to them the duty of yielding obedience to the authority of the Provisional Government, with orders that the colors of the Republic be placed in their churches.

The Nuncio of Pope Pius the Ninth, resident in Paris under the Monarchy, in a letter to M. Lamartine has expressed his profound satisfaction at the respect shown by the people of Paris to religion, in the midst of the great events that have been accomplished; and his conviction that the Holy Father would call down in all his prayers the blessings of God on France. The letter was in answer to M. Lamartine's communication informing him, as he had the other foreign representatives, that the Provisional Government had clothed him with the functions of Minister of

Foreign Affairs. This letter of the Nuncio—the same who represented the Pope, while the King was on the throne,—is regarded as equivalent to a recognition of the Republic by His Holiness, and, it is thought, will not be without its influence with large classes.

The tumultuous times bring up the ex-King of Westphalia, Jerome Bonaparte. He has addressed a letter to the Provisional Government. He asks that a decree may be issued by the Republic to annul the proscription imposed on his name by foreign Powers in alliance with the Bourbons, the Revolution having destroyed the treaties of 1815.

The Revolution also brings before the world a letter from another of the Bonaparte family, Prince Louis Napoleon. Returned to Paris from exile, he declares his desire to rank himself under the Flag of the Republic, and assures the Provisional Government of his devotion to the cause they represent, and of his personal sympathy for them.

In making visits to-day, I was in districts where I had not been since the Revolution. Nearly all the shops appeared to be open again. Workmen were engaged in repaving the streets in the parts torn up for barricades. Things have already, with a few exceptions, their old appearance, or nearly so. I did not see any private carriages, although I was in thoroughfares where, before the Revolution, they were always seen at the hour I was out.

Hackney coaches, cabs and other vehicles, were in the streets much as usual. The theatres are reopened, and street amusements go on in the daytime along the Champs Elysées, as if nothing had happened. The recovery, judging merely by the outside view of things along the streets, has been very quick after this great convulsion. I had little inclination to stroll on to Neuilly, where that beautiful summer Palace of the King was burnt; for who could take pleasure in looking on its ruins?

March 4. To-day the funeral of the citizens who fell in the combats of the 23d and 24th of February took place, under an order of the Provisional Government. The bodies were deposited in the vaults of the Column of July, where the old Bastile stood, and religious service was performed in all the churches. The throng drawn together was chiefly concentrated in the neighborhood of the church of the Madelaine, and filled the Boulevards for a great distance. I saw one edge of it in going to the Legation; and before leaving my house a large body of the people also passed within view on their way across the bridge at Place Concorde to join the funeral procession. I went out to see this detachment of it. Numerous tri-colored flags were displayed, and all were singing the Marseilles Hymn.

March 5. Make a personal call on Mr. Lamar-

time this evening. He told me he was engaged in public business day and night almost incessantly, and that the labor pressed heavily on him. I congratulated him on his victory over the bloody flag on the memorable Friday of the 25th of February. He says that when he has a little more command of his time, he will hope to see more of me. Just as I entered his hotel (the same Mr. Guizot had), a deputation of pupils from the colleges of France was coming out of his salon. I heard their shouts on leaving him. They had been to offer their homage, and give expression to their hopes and devotedness under the great political change. He had replied in a kind and stirring speech. He is always ready on such occasions; happy also in his language and illustrations, especially when addressed to the young, who fire up under the off-hand bursts of his animation and genius.

March 7. Mr. Lamartine came to see me, but I was not in. I hear that he said to Count Circourt that two good things had happened for the Republic: the letter of the Pope's Nuncio, and the address of the American Minister; the one representing the head of Christianity, the other the head of Republicanism.

March 24. Count de Lasterie and Major Poussin dine with us. The former was a member of the

late Chamber of Deputies. Our conversation was on the present state of things in Paris, and particularly on the component parts of the Provisional Government. It is more than half believed that divisions exist among the members on some important points.

March 25. This evening I went to M. Lamartine's. The Belgian and Sardinian Ambassadors were there, with a few other gentlemen: Madame Lamartine was present. M. Lamartine had been annoyed by an occurrence at his house shortly before I came. A deputation of fifty, from the whole body of Poles in France, waited upon him with a request, that the Provisional Government would supply them with arms and money to enable them to make a campaign into Poland to liberate their country. He reasoned briefly with them on the impropriety of their request that he should kindle up a war in Europe, telling them it would come to that. They did not, or would not, understand his reasoning. He expostulated with them more earnestly. They did not regard that, either, but became boisterous in his very salon. He then put them down, firmly regardless of their clamor; for they even threatened him with a hostile "demonstration" against the Government on the day following. Though he was somewhat moved at the occurrence of such an incident in his own

domicil, he enters into conversation with his company with his usual buoyancy, not despairing of the Republic because of the behavior of this Polish deputation.

March 31. I hear that early this month Lord Normanby said to M. Lamartine, in the name of his Government, that as soon as the Provisional Government was changed into a definitive one by the National Assembly, Great Britain would accredit her Ambassador to the new Republic; and in the interim keep up the necessary business relations, as well as those of good will and friendship, with the Republic. That the Republic should desire to keep on good terms with England is both natural and wise. Mr. Lamartine sees this. All reasonable Frenchmen see it. Ambitious and dangerous men suddenly arrived at power, if able to get up a cry that England had put herself against the Republic, might use it to blast the hopes of internal quiet, so necessary to France when about to mould her new institutions into form.

The Poles, who were brim-full of anger when they left Mr. Lamartine's house lately, came back the next day with a larger deputation. He addressed the increased number, doing it with such good sense and conciliation that, instead of the hostile demonstration threatened, he brought them

over to his side with expressions of regret at the unreasonableness of their first expectations.

April 2. Among those at our table to-day was Mr. George Lafayette, member of the late Chamber of Deputies, and son of General Lafayette: a name ever dear to our country as the companion in arms of Washington; who left France, then a young nobleman born to honors and fortune, to fight in our Revolutionary battles as a volunteer aide by his side. He holds the Republican principles for which his gallant and noble-minded father fought, and inherits his virtues. Though a Republican of the Washington school, he said to-day that the number of Frenchmen in favor of that form of government, take France throughout, was, he believed, very small. For himself, he desired to see a Republic; but his fears were that France was not ready for one. My ear could not be deaf to these words from this source. His home is in the country, on the ancient estate of his father. He thought, nevertheless, that the Republic would stand, so many parties were for upholding it; each party, probably, thinking it might the better arrive at its own ends, through the great change so suddenly come upon France by the proclamation of a Republic.

April 10. Count de Lasterie tells me that Mr.

Lamartine is opposed to a double branch for the Legislature in the Republican Constitution to be formed for France, and thinks that almost all France will be against it.

April 15. Went this evening to Mr. Lamartine's. He was not at home, but with the Provisional Government. A small company is present, and no more than two of the Diplomatic Corps. I collect from the conversation of the evening that divisions of opinion exist strongly in the Provisional Government, and that serious clashing among its members is even apprehended before the National Assembly can meet, which will be in May; the elections, or preparatory steps for them, being in progress.

April 16. M. de Tocqueville, the well-known author of the celebrated work on the political institutions of the United States, comes to see me. We get into conversation on some of the points of Republican Government. I mention what I had heard of M. Lamartine's objections to a double branch for the Legislative power under the new Republic. We converse on this part of the subject. I say that American experience is all in favor of two branches. For the illustrations from history showing the dangers of a single branch and advantages of a double branch, I

refer him to the learned and logical work of the elder Adams, formerly President of the United States, and one of the foremost patriots and sages of the American Revolution, written against the attack of M. Turgot, the French statesman, who regarded our preference of the double legislature as only a misplaced fondness for the English model of two houses of Parliament; but, apart from the value of that model, Mr. Adams's reasoning and illustrations seemed to me, and to others who were better judges, to be founded on the elementary maxims of government and the nature of man. M. de Tocqueville seemed familiar with the historical facts and reasoning in favor of the double branch, but wished to know what work of repute there was in our country which defended the single branch. I replied, none that I knew of; that not only did the Constitution of the United States establish a double branch in the two houses of Congress, but all the States, amounting to thirty, which composed the Federal Union at present, had adopted the double branch; or, if exceptions existed, I was not aware of them. The only exception in our past history was in the Constitution first formed by Pennsylvania after the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. I remembered no other. But the same State changed it afterwards for a Constitution with the double branch. Was there any work in Pennsylvania,

he asked, embodying the arguments for the single branch when her first Constitution was formed? None that I was able to specify, I said. The journals of the day, and debates of the body which formed it, would, doubtless, contain the arguments its advocates used; but these I could not easily command unless at home. It is proper for me to add, I remarked, that Dr. Franklin was friendly to the single branch; but he rarely spoke in legislative bodies, and never at length.

Here our conversation stopped short. M. de Tocqueville heard the rappel beating in the streets. Rising from his chair, he left me, hardly pausing a moment, to join his regiment in the National Guards. Author; man of genius; independent in his circumstances; addicted to study; not robust in frame; yet off he goes for his musket at the first summons of the drum, to take his stand as a private in the ranks. So martial is France!

April 16. This same day, Count de Caraman and Count Mandelslow dine with us. The latter (of Wurtemberg) was my esteemed colleague in the Diplomatic Corps at London, whom it has been my good fortune to meet here in Paris, where he is on a visit; and my renewed intercourse with whom has a double value, from his amiable Countess and accomplished daughter being here with him.

I introduce the name of Count Caraman first, for

the sake of saying that, when we talked of the Republic, he was for accepting it, not because he held its opinions, (for he is known to his friends as a frank and honorable legitimist,) but because, thrown upon France even by a delusive show of popular opinion, as he thought it was, all should, nevertheless, accept it for present peace. Like others of his political faith, he appeared to have little idea that it would succeed. Apart from this motive for alluding to him, I am afforded, in doing so, the opportunity of a passing tribute to his worth. Long known to me,—first in Washington, as an attractive young attaché to the French Legation when M. Serurier was Minister, in Napoleon's day, during both his grandeur and fall; again knowing him as belonging to the French Embassy in London, when the Marquis d'Osmond was Ambassador from France; and now here,—his society has always been highly valued by myself and family. Especially has it been agreeable and useful to us in all social ways since we came to Paris; and not unfrequently from the political matter and conjectures he catches in his own circles, where, as in all circles, he listens with an intelligent and cultivated mind.

April 18. I learned again to-day that heart-burnings prevail among some of the members of the Provisional Government, which cause intense

anxiety, though happily they are still kept out of the newspapers.

The rappel which so suddenly snatched from me the enlightened companion with whom I was in conversation day before yesterday, was caused by a great "demonstration" of the working-classes, who had congregated in the Champ de Mars. The assemblage, which went on to increase by various reinforcements arriving at this well-known point as a rendezvous, moved off, to the number, it was said, of fifty thousand, with banners denoting their object, which was to form an organization of laborers to procure work. Their march was towards the Hotel de Ville, where the Provisional Government sits; at which point they intended openly to announce their object. An alarm was raised. It spread quickly. Rumor succeeded rumor, and many feared a new Revolution was at hand; though the procession appeared to be moving along peaceably and unarmed. When the rappel was beaten, the National Guards came together from all parts of Paris. It did not begin to beat till noon; but in a few hours it was computed that scarcely fewer than a hundred thousand of the guards had turned out, ready to protect all the important points of the capital, had there been a fresh outbreak to bring about another Revolution. The Hotel de Ville was secured against attack inside and from without. Lamartine and Marrast

appeared on the balcony, and were greeted by the plaudits of thousands in the streets. Their appearance was hailed as symbols of the Republic's safety. This prompt exertion of authority, backed by such an armed force acting with order and discipline, speaks well for the energy of the Provisional Government; which derives also a new moral support from the evidences of public opinion, which the occasion seems to have arrayed on its side. An impression exists that a plot to overturn it was certainly at the bottom of this movement. I find it difficult to get authentic information on the subject, and leave it under as much as I have noted down.

April 21. To-day I received a dispatch from the Secretary of State, conveying to me the approbation of the President for the part I took on the 28th of February in acknowledging the French Republic, and enclosing me a letter of credence to the Provisional Government.

April 22. I addressed an official note to Mr. Lamartine, informing him of this communication. I also send him a copy of the letter of credence, and request an interview to know when I may have the honor of delivering the original to the Provisional Government in person.

The letter was in the customary form of such

communications from the executive heads of Governments, whether Monarchies or Republics.

April 23. Mr. Lamartine informs me that he will give me the interview to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

April 24. I called at the Foreign Office at twelve o'clock. Mr. Lamartine said that my formal appearance before all the members of the Provisional Government for the delivery in person of the letter of credence, could scarcely, he feared, be brought about at as early a day as he wished, from the difficulty of getting them all together. He added, that if I would overlook the form of appearing before all, he would himself receive the letter from me as representing them all. I assented to his proposition.

April 26. I presented my letter of credence to M. Lamartine at the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, as agreed.

The same arrival from the United States brought me another dispatch from the Secretary of State, informing me that the President had appointed the Secretary of this Legation Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Rome. The dispatch added that whomsoever I would name as successor to Mr. Martin, the President would appoint to the situation,

In this transfer of Mr. Martin to another sphere of public duty, I lose an experienced and highly competent official assistant, and a man of honorable principles and deportment.* Many names are placed before me as his successor. I select the attaché to the Legation who came with me from the United States, Mr. Stanton, still young in years, but who has earned this confidence from me by his intelligent attention to the business of the Legation, the quickness with which he has learned French, and his correct principles and conduct.

April 30. M. de Tocqueville and Mr. Bancroft dine with us. We had much conversation on the new form of government for France; especially as regards the federative principle and centralization. M. de Tocqueville gave an account of the powers and jurisdiction of the Parliaments as now existing in the departments. He sees great difficulty in constructing out of them anything like our State governments for France. She is too much disposed to centralization from long habit, which had become a conviction. His views were perspicuously presented. Mr. Bancroft, himself not uninformed in

* Mr. Martin died soon after arriving at Rome to enter upon his mission. With a luminous mind, scholarly attainments, and his whole nature anti-selfish and generous, his friends will long regret his talents and virtues.

this field, was the better enabled to draw out M. de Tocqueville's opinions and give point to what was said. For my share in the conversation, it went in favor of the federative system, as exemplified in our Union, from its combining with federation the strength of consolidation; federation taking charge of the whole internal concerns of our States; consolidation (centralization) presenting us with one front to foreign Powers.

May 10. The opening of the National Assembly took place on the 4th of this month.

At eleven in the morning, members began to enter the building erected since the Revolution for their accommodation; and before one o'clock upwards of six hundred were in the chamber. The body was temporarily organized, and the members took their seats. The whole body had an aspect of great respectability. I witnessed the scene from the box or tribune allotted to the Diplomatic Corps. Fewer young men were among them than perhaps might have been anticipated. The majority appeared to be of middle age, above rather than below it, and a portion more advanced. Among the members are many names conspicuous for intellect and reputation in France.

Soon after one o'clock, cannon and drums announced the approach of the Provisional Government. As they entered the vast Chamber, all the

members rose and welcomed them with upraised hands, exclaiming and reiterating, Vive la République! Vive le Gouvernement Provisoire! The galleries echoed back the greetings. The President of the Provisional Government, the venerable Dupont, then made a brief address. The moment had arrived, he said, when they were to hand over to the Representatives of the people, as depositaries of the nation's will, the power with which the Revolution had invested them; that they had proclaimed the Republic, which sprang into existence in February; that they had passed through difficult circumstances, and now looked with hope to the supreme power of the Assembly to give to France a Republican constitution that would suit her. The address was enthusiastically received amid new cries of Vive la République. The address struck me favorably by its brevity, and its simple and appropriate language.

The Provisional Government then withdrew. They were followed by the Representatives, who went into their different bureaux for the purpose of verifying their returns under the election. This occupied an hour or more, when they returned to the Chamber. The Provisional Government also returned. In a little while it was proposed that a solemn proclamation of the Republic should be made by the Assembly. Some said this was unnecessary. The Republic, they said, already existed

by spontaneous acclamation. It was like the sun —all saw it. Finally, if becoming known that the National Guard and more than a hundred thousand people outside desired to witness the proclamation of the Republic in the open air, all the Representatives and the members of the Provisional Government went out on the steps of the old Chamber of Deputies, which the new hall adjoins; and there, with increased enthusiasm, the Republic was proclaimed, amid universal shouts. Their reverberations and the roar of cannon from the Champs Elysées and Hotel des Invalides made the scene very animating.

The Assembly met again on the fifth, when seven hundred and fifty members were present. They chose for their presiding officer Mr. Buchez. The presiding officer is to be chosen once a month. Six Vice-Presidents and six Secretaries were next elected; and the Assembly has held its sittings every day since.

How the members, nine hundred in all, stand as to political parties, has not yet been distinctly revealed. About two-thirds seem at present to be considered moderate Republicans; but an intelligent member tells me this is doubtful. Mr. George Lafayette is chosen; and his meritorious son, Mr. Oscar Lafayette. Several bishops, and others of the clergy, have been chosen. The army and navy are well represented, six generals of division being

among the former, as well as other high officers. Vice-admirals are among the naval officers. It is supposed that a hundred Legitimists may probably have been chosen, with some Orleanists, and others not Republicans before the 24th of February. But no one, of any class or party, appears to think of any other form of government but Republican. The Abbé Lacordaire, the distinguished ecclesiastic, has so expressed himself in the Assembly. He declared that before the events of February he was a monarchist, but was now for a Republic. So with the whole body. Twice has their constitutional Monarchy failed. A Republic has come, as a fate. Let it be fairly tried. This seems the feeling, this the apparent determination, of all. Fortunate also is it that so many eminent men are seen in the Assembly, whether taken from civil or ecclesiastical life, or the army and navy. It holds out good assurances that intellect and knowledge of a high order will not be wanting to its deliberations. This was foreseen as the result of universal suffrage, which was the rule in choosing the members. It was foreseen and foretold, as its practical operation, that large bodies of the working and laboring classes among the people, when coming up to vote, or before the day, would probably seek the aid of prominent and trustworthy persons known to them in the various departments or communes, to make out suitable nominations for them; ex-

pressing their willingness to support freely tickets prepared in that way and put into their hands. This is understood to have been the mode pursued in the elections throughout large portions of rural France.

Several important reports were laid before the Assembly by the members of the Provisional Cabinet on surrendering up their posts. Amongst them, M. Lamartine's manifesto, issued early in March, is memorable. It considers the treaties of 1815 as abolished. It announces to foreign nations that France, as a Republic, does not desire to enter the family of nations as a disturbing phenomenon of European order; that war was not her principle, but peace; but that "if conditions of war were laid down to the French people," they would be accepted; that "the Republic was only the intellectual ally of nations desiring to live by the same principle as its own; France, as a Republic, aimed not at setting the world on fire, but only to shine from her place on the horizon of nations." These are some of its words. The document shows the fertile thoughts of a rich mind, rather than the usual tone and diction of state papers. While declaring that "the treaties of 1815 exist no longer as law in the eyes of the French Republic," it admits the "territorial circumscriptions" of those treaties as a basis; a *point de départ*, in its relations with other nations.

The Reports from the Minister of the Interior; of Finance; of Public Instruction; of Justice; of Agriculture and Commeree; and of War; made known what had been done in those several departments. The Report of the Minister of War shows an army larger than under the monarchy; namely, five hundred thousand men, with eighty thousand cavalry; and the Garde Mobile, about fifteen thousand strong, has been added to the military force of Paris.

There was also a summary Report from the Provisional Government as a body, which was read by M. Lamartine; and the Assembly passed a vote that the Provisional Government had deserved well of the Country.

By as much as I can learn thus far of the opinions of the members, through intercourse with some who are eminent, the predominating feeling is for centralization. The unity of France, her martial character, her position in Europe—which imposes on her the duty of being ready for war now as much as ever—all point to centralization; and the members appear to think that a single legislative chamber will best subserve all these great conditions of her existence. A plural Executive seems to find favor with some.

Now that the Provisional Government has come to an end, brief notices of its course may not be

out of place as part of the history of this remarkable epoch in France.

The sudden prohibition of a political banquet which the opposition intended to celebrate on the 22d of February drove the King from his throne. He reached England in safety with his incomparable Queen. That this prohibition was the immediate cause of his expulsion, even if other causes existed for trouble of some kind, all agree. The first demonstrations of violence under the suppression of the banquet were appeased by the dismissal of the Ministers; and had it not been for the accidental firing of the troops upon the people, from the garden of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, many among the well informed think there would have been no Revolution at all, more especially as revolutions generally come when nations are in a suffering state, not when they are prosperous. If there be dissentients from this opinion, all with whom I conversed admit that France, as a nation, had no intention of creating, and was in no expectation of seeing, a Republic. It took the nation by surprise. It *sprang* into being, as the venerable Dupont said in his address. It presented itself with the same suddenness as the Monarchy fell. He equally spoke the truth in saying the Provisional Government had "passed through difficult circumstances." Considering its incongruous composition, the wonder is that it held together until

the Assembly met—a result attributable in a great degree to the influence of Lamartine. It had to enter upon its functions instanter. There was no interval for deliberation; none for reconciling jarring opinions, even if all its members could ever have moved in concert. Whatever was to be done, was wanted on the moment. The chasm opened by the political earthquake, was to be closed. To have left it open, would have invited evils greater than any which could arise from the injudicious exercise of the new-born authority. This all saw. All rallied round that authority, as the only safety for all.

To mention all that this new-born authority did, is no part of my purpose; but the most important of its acts may be summarily brought into view.

It abolished all titles; and removed all shackles from the press.

It decreed universal suffrage by ballot to all Frenchmen twenty-one years old, except convicts, without requiring any qualification of property.

It abolished death for all political offences, and liberated from prison all who were confined for such offences; and abolished imprisonment for debt.

It gave bread to all workmen thrown out of employ by the Revolution, not indefinitely, but for a season.

It promised them employment, and did employ large numbers in the public workshops.

It ordained that the citizens slain in the streets while fighting against the Monarchy were to be adopted by the nation.

It decreed that in addition to existing taxes (the payment of which was urged in advance), the direct taxes should be increased fifty-five per cent. for the present year; an increase which would have added a hundred and ninety millions of francs to the national income of the year.

It emancipated at once the slaves in all French colonies, and made a ratable proportion of them eligible as members of the National Assembly equally with members chosen in France.

These were among the primary acts of the Provisional Government promulgated, and, as far as possible, executed, very soon after it "sprang" into being. A multitude of others growing out of them, or in separate fields, followed quickly in their wake. Most of those I specify were elementary. Some were beneficent; some necessary to keep down fresh outbreaks; but scarcely any one would say that all were wise. More might think that it would have been better to leave a portion of them for the Representatives of the whole nation to act upon when the National Assembly met.

Looking to the foreign policy of France, all its early steps towards other states may be remem-

bered, with approbation. It kept the peace of Europe, when the Revolution threw out fuel broadcast for kindling fearful strife among nations. It nipped in the bud an onslaught on Poland, in which whole thousands of the French would eagerly have joined. It kept down belligerent inroads into Italy, which the impetuosity and fire of Frenchmen were ready to make. It did the same towards Belgium. This pacific policy was kept steadily in view by M. Lamartine, and maintained by his intellectual and moral power. It was the best commentary upon his own manifesto; rendering clear, parts which might have been thought obscure through the redundancy and rhetoric of its periods. Nor did he receive encouragingly, but the contrary, deputations from Ireland, who came over with warm congratulatory addresses on the Revolution, in the hope, possibly, of aid for Irish grievances; any step towards which must have compromised the new Republic with England, and brought the two countries to the eve of war, if not actual war.

The great difficulty was with the finances. The taxes were not paid in advance, as urged; and the decree for increasing so largely the direct taxes was of doubtful policy and uncertain of success. Money disappeared. Credit was down, and could not be revived, while the future was uncertain and the new expenses great. The shops of Paris had reopened, as if by magic, after the first shock of the

Revolution. They lost no time in making a display to keep up appearances, natural where with so many their all was at stake in the revival of business. But those who walked about in the streets found that to reopen shops was not to bring back custom. Stepping into one near Rue du Bac for some gloves, I received from those in attendance the assiduous attentions always to be met with in French shops. On coming away, I learned that they had sold nothing else that day! It was then near evening, and the shop one in good vogue. This was perhaps a month after the Revolution; and hundreds of shops, if not in the same, were probably in predicaments not very different.

The first wants of the Provisional Government led to enormous expenditure. For a while it drew upon the funds left by the Monarchy; but these rapidly diminished. Demand upon the public purse was constant; supplies to it precarious. Small dealers were straitened, many ruined; and large firms began to give way. A loan of a hundred millions of francs was meditated, but fell through from the stagnation of business and general distrust. It was supposed that there had been an average monthly payment of more than three millions of francs since the close of February, to support unemployed workmen in Paris and its vicinity, leaving out what was paid in the provinces.

Amidst the financial embarrassments of the Republic, inevitable to its premature birth, it was cheered by numberless voluntary acts of patriotism throughout the land. Workmen, fortunate enough to get employment, made known their desire to give up a day's wages in every week to the State. Peasants in the country made an offering of their silver forks and spoons for the public; for with these it would seem that a large portion of the peasantry of the country were supplied. Bankers came forward with liberal donations, side by side with private individuals who made smaller ones. Admirals in the navy renounced a portion of their pay and emoluments. Even needle-women, so badly paid everywhere, perhaps, desired that a portion of their earnings should be accepted by the Republic. I give samples only of this feeling. While the sum total of all such oblations is of little account when the treasury of a great nation is in straits, there was something in them honorable to the French, especially to the common people, when their country was suffering—suffering under evils which, although believed to be temporary, pressed sorely upon the middle and lower classes.

May 11. The power of the Provisional Government being extinct, the National Assembly yesterday chose the following persons to be the Executive

Committee until the new Constitution comes into existence: namely—

M. Arago, M. Garnier Pagès, M. Marie, M. Lamartine, and M. Ledru Rollin.

May 12. Yesterday the President of the Assembly announced that the Executive Committee had selected the following persons to compose the Ministry:—

Jules Bastide, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice; M. Recurt, Minister of the Interior; M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction, with M. Reynaud as Under Secretary; M. Bethmont, Minister of Public Worship; M. Floeon, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture; M. Trélat, Minister of Public Works; M. Duclerc, Minister of Finance; M. Charras, Minister of War *ad interim* [General Cavaignac became so a few days afterwards]; Admiral Casy, Minister of Marine; M. Marrast and M. Caussidière to retain their respective situations as Mayor of Paris and Prefect of Police.

May 12. Receive a letter from the President, accompanied by a joint Resolution of Congress, tendering the congratulations of the American to the French people upon the success of their recent efforts to consolidate the principles of liberty in a Republican form of government. I am directed

by the President to present an authenticated copy of this Resolution to the French Government.

May 13. Wait on M. Bastide, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, this morning, to inform him that I had received the joint Resolution of Congress, and requesting to know at what time it would suit the convenience of the Executive Committee to grant me the honor of an audience to present it, as directed by the President. The Minister promises to make known my request and give me an answer. I leave with him a copy of the Resolution.

May 15. Great commotion in Paris; the rappel beating; streets filled with the military; alarming rumors of fresh trouble. I hasten to the office of the Legation; troops obstruct my passage over the near bridge at Place Concorde, and I go another way. Return at two o'clock by the bridge of the Invalides. I stop at the residence of my countryman, Mr. Aiken, a gentleman of South Carolina, living in Rue St. Dominique, where our former Minister, Mr. King, lived. I there learn that thousands of soldiers are surrounding the National Assembly; the cause not known. On reaching home, I hear that another Revolution is in progress. Go out again, trying to ascertain, from acquaintances at hand, what the alarm amounts to. Hear that

mobs of disorganizers and Red Republicans from the clubs of Paris, the communists, socialists, and such like, broke suddenly into the National Assembly and stopped its deliberations.

May 16. It turns out that not only was the Assembly invaded yesterday and nearly all the members driven by violence from their seats, but that the assailants proceeded to proclaim a new Revolution. The Assembly, however, regained its authority in the evening, and the assailants were discomfited.

May 17. The Assembly took steps yesterday, and are adopting further steps to-day, against the conspirators and others concerned in this outrage upon its authority. Arrests have been made; amongst them Barbès, Sobrier, Huber, Rey, Albert (late one of the Secretaries of the Provisional Government), and Raspail. The last is editor of a paper called the "Friend of the People." Treachery is charged upon some of the National Guard, particularly General Courtais, the commander, who has been arrested.

May 18. Further arrests are made of the conspirators and their confederates.

May 19. Receive a note from the Minister of

Foreign Affairs, in answer to my verbal communication to him of the 13th, informing me that the Executive Committee will receive me on the 22d, at the Petit Luxembourg, at twelve o'clock. The Minister gives as a reason for not having named an earlier day, the disturbed condition of things that has existed in Paris.

May 19. Receive a dispatch from the Secretary of State relative to the tobacco monopoly. It encloses a memorial from merchants in Baltimore interested in the trade, and instructs me to use my best endeavors to have the whole subject placed on a better footing than it has been hitherto in France.

May 20. I will note down some of the particulars of the late bold attempt to overset the Republic.

The 15th of May had been fixed upon for a debate in the National Assembly on the Polish and Italian questions. It was expected that on this occasion Mr. Lamartine would fully explain what had been the course of the Provisional Government towards those countries, and unfold the future intentions of France. The expectation of this debate had created excitement in Paris. It was known that the violent party, dissatisfied at the issue of the elections, had given strong ex-

pression to their discontent at the clubs and in other ways; and it was apprehended that when the day for the debate arrived, the occasion might be turned to mischief. Accordingly, on Monday, the 15th, a great procession was arranged by the malcontents. It was termed a "demonstration in favor of the Polish cause." The Poles were marshalled in all their force in the streets. With them were thousands of violent persons from the clubs, and their deluded and desperate associates, who had made the known popularity of the Polish cause a cloak for their designs. The whole marched in a body, formidable in number, towards the Assembly, avoiding at first all outward signs of disorder or bad intentions. Many of them, however, had concealed weapons, as bayonets and knives, under their clothes. The Government was on its guard, and had sufficiently protected the Assembly, as was believed, against approaches on that day by any multitudinous procession, whatever its pretext. But, through treachery somewhere, the procession was allowed to pass the main barrier; when its desperate bands, with well-planned movements, burst into the Assembly, drove nearly all the members from their seats, and actually proclaimed from the tribune a new Provisional Government for France.

The violence and consternation of the scene, equalled for a while, it is said by those who wit-

nessed it, anything that occurred in the Chamber of Deputies when the Monarchy was overthrown. The Representatives did not, however, move from their seats, until compelled by violence. The conspirators hurried off to the Hotel de Ville to consummate their work of usurpation; but in the mean time the cause of order was collecting its strength for a triumph. Whatever may have been the individual instances of treachery in the National Guard, its aggregate force rallied to put down the daring outrage. The perpetrators were scattered without the necessity of bloodshed, so prompt and overpowering was the turn-out of bayonets against them, with cannon in reserve. They had possession of the Government at four o'clock in the afternoon; but by seven in the evening, the Assembly had resumed its sitting and the Executive Committee its authority.

This, in a few words, is an account of what happened, as far as I have been able to sift it out. Numerous arrests have been made. The ring-leaders are not yet all known, but will be ferreted out, it is presumed. On the whole, the Republic appears to have gained, by the prompt suppression of this attempt to overturn it. Yet that such men should have carried their point, even to a momentary success, awakens uneasiness, though it may not all be expressed.

They called themselves the People, in presence

of the nine hundred Representatives just chosen by the different sections of the eighty-five departments of all France under universal suffrage. But, said the conspirators, they do not represent the Democracy of France! The names of those who were to have formed the new Provisional Government were given out by the conspirators in the National Assembly, as far as could be heard in the confusion, and were afterwards announced at the Hotel de Ville. The newspapers published them. In the house of Sobrier, who was arrested, as mentioned, decrees were found ready prepared. The first among them begins with saying, that the National Assembly was composed in a great degree of reactionaries; that it had violated its mission, lost time when misery demanded relief, refused to create a "Ministry of Labor;" and, after further recitals, declares that the people of Paris, as an advance guard, had taken upon themselves the charge of watching over the trusts committed to the Representatives who had violated them; then it creates a Committee of "Public Safety," (as in the old Revolution,) to be invested with unlimited powers for constituting a truly Democratic Republic, and stifle reaction by the most energetic means. This is an extract from it. By other decrees, "known patriots" were to form a new National Guard, to be called "La Force Ouvrière;" and capitalists, whom they accuse of hiding their money

since February, were to be taxed to the amount of half their incomes, by a process of calculation which the malcontents had carefully made out.

May 22. Arrests have been made of more than three hundred of the conspirators, and the Assembly has issued an address or proclamation under the event. It is headed "The National Assembly to the People of France," and states that these seditious men have attempted the greatest of crimes in a free country—the crime of treason against the National Sovereignty; but that order would come out of this great trial, and justice reach the guilty. It fills the third of a column in a newspaper. It was adopted on a strong vote of the Assembly, and is to be printed and posted up in all the departments, and in every commune in France.

A Fête in honor of the Republic was celebrated yesterday. It was in contemplation since the first meeting of the Assembly, but had been retarded by circumstances, and, amongst them, this conspiracy. Coming on after it was crushed, the celebration was the more animated. The weather was remarkably fine. The procession was from the Place de la Bastile to the Champ de Mars, and comprehended every thing in the way of street exhibition, real and allegorical, that Paris could effect. A colossal Statue, emblematic of the Republic, was not wanting to the display. The members of the

Assembly, the chief feature in it all, moved off in columns four deep from the main front of their chamber, each with a small badge or ribbon in his coat, to be distinguished from the mass. They were greeted by thousands and thousands; shouts going up of Vivé la République! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale! They marched towards the Champ de Mars, falling in with the grand procession at or near that spot. The National Guards and troops of the line were out in great number, the former especially. Tri-colored flags floated everywhere, and other banners were displayed. At night there was a grand illumination. We drove out to see it. Along the whole Champs Elysées, from Place Concorde to the Triumphal Arch, was one blaze of light, under all the variety of French pyrotechnics. Order was maintained during the whole fête, in which probably half a million of people, military and civil, men and women, young and old, may have mingled,—most of them, to all appearances, full of joy. The cost of the whole was a million of francs. I have not the proceedings of the Assembly by me at this moment, but think that was the sum voted. When the appropriation for it, in advance, was proposed, a member rose to remind the Chamber that Paris was full of workmen out of employment and fed by the Government: nevertheless, the grant went promptly through, with the greatest enthusiasm.

May 23. The Minister of Foreign Affairs having appointed the 22d as the day when the Executive Committee would receive the Joint Resolution of Congress, I repaired yesterday to the Petit-Luxembourg at twelve o'clock, where the five members were assembled to receive me.

On being introduced, I said that I had the honor to present to their Excellencies a RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, passed on the 13th of April, tendering, in the name and behalf of the American People, the congratulations of Congress to the People of France, upon the success of their recent efforts to consolidate the principles of liberty in a Republican form of government. The Resolution had the sanction of the President of the United States, in the form prescribed by their Constitution; and I, as their Minister Plenipotentiary, had been instructed, under a clause of the Resolution, to present it.

In fulfilling this duty I was charged by the President to say, that these congratulations of the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government did but reflect the general feeling of the People of the United States, who never could view with indifference the progress of civil liberty in any part of the world, and least of all in the great nation ever associated with the establishment of their own freedom and independence. The President, behold-

ing with admiration the spirit of order and peace which reigned as soon as the late Revolution was achieved, had the anxious hope that the same spirit would continue; he hoped that France might be blessed with internal tranquillity, whilst occupied in the great work of building up her new institutions of government, and be spared the miseries of foreign war. He believed that those institutions, calmly constructed with the best wisdom of France, would thus have auspicious opportunities to become improved and strengthened in a manner to command the approbation of mankind, and secure to France a long career of prosperity and happiness. The People of the United States, whose birthright was freedom, required time and peace after their Revolution successfully to found and consolidate their system of government, republican in form, popular in principle, and stable from the elements of order inherent in its structure; for its efficiency, like its duration, was the offspring of the checks it imposed on power.

These were the sentiments, these the hopes, cherished towards France by the President, speaking under this Resolution of Congress, in the name of the American People, and in the spirit of their ancient attachment to their renowned and generous ally in the days of Washington. And I concluded by saying how much I felt honored in being the

instrument for conveying them on the part of the President and of my Country.

M. Lamartine, on behalf of the Executive Committee, replied to the above address. Generally, in these memorandums, I have not deemed it necessary to set forth the contents of documents or dispatches otherwise than by a faithful indication of their meaning; but in this instance I depart from that course, and will give Mr. Lamartine's reply in his own words. After having been delivered, it was printed in the Moniteur as follows:—

"Sir: The Resolution which you present to us on the part of the Senate, the Legislative body, and the President of the American Republic, is a happy confirmation of the recognition of the French Republic which you were the first to proclaim. The new Government of the Republic would view with a just susceptibility, foreign Governments mixing up counsel with the expression of their good wishes; but, in the intimate relations which exist between the French Republic and that of America, every word that the latter may address to us will be received on the score of perpetual friendship. The Senate, the Legislative Body, and the executive power of the United States may be convinced that their wise counsels serve in advance as a law to the French Republic; not only will it follow in their path, but it will follow the examples which they give of the order of regular institutions, of atten-

tion to its neighbors, of solicitude for labor, instruction, and the prosperity of the people. "The names of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson are inscribed on the banner of the new Republic; and if France is fortunate enough to find in its future annals names worthy of these, liberty will assume its real character on the old Continent, as it has done on the other side of the Atlantic."

May 24. In the National Assembly, yesterday, Mr. Lamartine stated that the American Minister had just presented to the Executive Committee a RESOLUTION from the Congress of the United States, to recognise the French Republic, and to congratulate it on its existence. Up to the present time the executive power had always acted of itself in such circumstances; but on this occasion it was the whole Congress of the United States which had directly addressed the representatives of the French Republic. Such being the case, it would be advisable, he thought, to respond to such a proceeding by one of a similar nature; and, in consequence, he had to propose, in the name of the Executive Committee, that the Assembly should nominate a committee to draw up an address to the American Congress, which should be forwarded with as little delay as possible.

The announcement of this proposition was followed by cries from all parts of the Chamber of

'Yes! yes!' It was immediately referred by the Assembly to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

May 25. In the National Assembly, to-day, M. Drouyn de l'Huys rose, and spoke to the following effect:—The Assembly, he said, had charged the standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, of which he was Chairman, to prepare an Address in answer to the felicitations of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; that when France changed her form of government by a striking exercise of national sovereignty, the American Republic at once, through its Minister, hastened to recognise a sister in the French Republic; and when the events were known at Washington, the President declared that the American Minister had perfectly comprehended the intentions of his Government, and that the whole nation joined in the language he had used. Congress had now, in addition, decreed that felicitations should be addressed to the French Republic in the name of the American People; and, in view of so marked a proceeding, the Committee of Foreign Affairs conceived that the usual course ought also to be departed from by France. In place, therefore, of an address, a decree by the Assembly appeared to be the mode of communication best suited to the friendly character of the communications between the two nations. The

Committee therefore proposed a decree in the terms following:

"Article I. In the name of the French Republic, the National Assembly, deeply affected by the feeling which has dictated to the American Congress, the decree of the 13th of April last, offers to the American people the thanks of the French Republic, and the expression of its fraternal friendship

"Article II. The Executive Committee is charged to transmit the present decree to the French Legation at Washington, with an order to communicate it officially to the American Congress."

The decree was unanimously adopted.

May 27. A decree yesterday passed the National Assembly banishing in perpetuity Louis Philippe and the Orleans family from the territories of France. Sixty-two members voted against it. Some of these spoke against it, placing their objections rather on the ground of magnanimity, as the Republic had now nothing to fear from them. The word *à perpétuité* being objected to, M. Ducoux, who reported the bill from the committee, said it meant nothing, as its insertion in the decree would not prevent the decree being changed should the time arrive.

May 29. In the National Assembly to-day, the

Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that the Government of the Republic had received formal recognition by the Courts of Spain and Belgium.

May 30. Prince Louis Napoleon makes a communication to the National Assembly. It is dated London, the 25th of May. Having learned, he says, that it had been proposed in the committees to maintain against him alone the decree of banishment against his family in 1816, he calls upon the Representatives of the people to say how he has deserved such severity. Was it, he asks, because he had publicly declared his opinion that France was not the appanage of any one man, family, or party? Was it because, wishing to make triumphant the principle of sovereignty of the people which alone could terminate French dissensions, he had twice been made a victim to his hostility to that Government which the Republic overthrew? Was it because, in deference to the Provisional Government, he returned to a foreign country, after hastening to Paris at the first report of the Revolution? Was it because he refused to be a candidate for the Assembly, having resolved not to re-enter France until the new Constitution was firmly established? Such are his earnest interrogations. He further says, that the same reasons which made him take up arms against Louis Philippe would lead him, if his services were

required, to devote them to the defence of the Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage; and, he adds, that in face of a king elected by two hundred deputies, he could boast of being heir to an Empire founded by the assent of four millions of Frenchmen. In conclusion, he says, that he will claim no more than the rights which belong to him as a French citizen; but these he would incessantly claim, with all the energy which the consciousness of never deserving ill of his country could give to an upright mind.

May 31. M. de Tocqueville visits me. He is one of the committee of eighteen appointed by the National Assembly to prepare a draft of the new Constitution. We have much conversation on the subject. The work is advancing, and he thinks from present appearances that the committee will report in favor of a single Executive and a single Chamber.

Mr. Buchanan, our Secretary of State, had transmitted to me, unofficially, some thoughts, embodying the great American doctrine that our State Constitutions were the only sure pillars of the Constitution of the United States, which works by its own inherent force in some things, and through the States in others; the latter instrumentality exemplifying the federative principle, the former the national principle; and the combination of the two giving to our Union its efficiency, and securing thus far its duration. Mr. Buchanan's paper was well

drawn, and pointed to the elementary differences of our system from the Swiss Confederation, that of the seven United Provinces, and the federation of the former circles of Germany; the defects in all which confederacies, and in others more ancient, were in the view of the framers of our Constitution, and sufficiently guarded against as we believed. I had shown this paper to M. de Tocqueville, that he might judge how far, in the new Constitution preparing for France, the French Provincial Parliaments might be more or less assimilated to our State Governments, so as to make the political machine work efficiently to results such as we witnessed in the United States. We had conversed before on these topics, and now again; but I found him little sanguine of the successful application of the two principles in France, where the idea of centralization was so deep-rooted.

June 1. The papers state that the Executive Committee have presented to the Assembly a full Report on the conspiracy of the 15th of May, and that the details are very voluminous.

June 2. At Madame de Tocqueville's reception last night I had more conversation with M. de Tocqueville on the new Constitution. Among prominent names on the committee are those of Dupin, Dufaure, Cormenin, Odillon Barrot, Coque-

rel, Lamennais, Marrast. The Abbé Lamennais resigned his membership after preparing a draft of the Constitution which was not adopted by the committee but in several parts approved.

June 5. In a letter from Commodore Read, commanding our squadron in the Mediterranean, written from his flag-ship in the Bay of Naples, he informed me that he received numerous applications for the presence of vessels of war at various points within his command; but that his small force would not admit of his complying with the wishes of all who apprehended inconvenience and even danger in various ports of the Mediterranean at this juncture of European affairs.

Considering the disturbed state of Europe, and that countries bordering on the Mediterranean may be agitated more than they have yet been; considering also the unsettled condition of France, and that none can say what irregularities may chance to happen in her ports before she gets through all the consequences of her late Revolution, though I would not foreshadow ill of the Republic, it would seem to me best that our force should be increased in that sea. Accordingly, I wrote last week to our Government to that effect. I advert to the fact that thirty years ago our naval force in the Mediterranean was much larger than that now under Commodore Read, although our commerce at that

day was scarcely half its present amount; nor was it so large then to protect our vessels from capture by Algiers or other Barbary Powers, whose piracies we had previously stopped by our cannon—the sole argument they would listen to. Happily for commerce and civilization, France, by converting Algiers into Algeria, had broken up that nest of pirates.

June 10. There was a bustle in the National Assembly to-day.

Several members were observed contending for the tribune, each desiring to speak. The President decided in favor of M. Heeckeren. This member announced to the Assembly that rumors had just been circulated that when the National Guard went out from Troyes to meet a regiment of infantry arriving there, it saluted the troops with Vive la République! to which the troops replied by the cry of *Vive Louis Napoleon!*

Numerous voices called out, Why tell such rumors?—they are all false.

In the midst of the sensation produced, General Cavaignac, Minister of War, rose and declared that the Government of the Republic had received no information of the kind, and pronounced it calumnious. He accused no one; he had no right to do so, no right to believe guilt in the person whose name was unfortunately put forward; but added that he would hold up to public execration any man who

would sacrilegiously lay his hands on the public liberty. Immense applause followed, the whole Assembly rising and shouting, Vive la République!

General Cavaignac resumed:—Honor to the man who is faithful to his duties, and devotes his talents and fortune to the service of his country; but shame on him who would attempt to turn to his own account a glorious name, when beholding his country under present embarrassment and difficulty. Again vehement applause, with repeated cries of Vive la République!

Members on the left exclaimed, No reaction of any kind—no pretenders, no imperial despotism, no military despotism.

A member on the right exclaimed, A vile imposture to injure Louis Bonaparte!

The scene closed by an adjournment of the Assembly.

The cause of all this was in the fact that Prince Louis Napoleon had just been elected a member of Assembly at the special elections in Paris and the Provinces. He was chosen for three Provinces as well as for Paris.

June 12. Mr. George Lafayette was elected a Vice-President of the National Assembly on Saturday, in the place of M. Bethmont, appointed Minister of Justice. It is so much in the heart of an American to love the name of Lafayette, that I

rejoice at this compliment to the meritorious son of the companion in arms of Washington.

I here note down also the appointment of Major Poussin as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. He was a Republican in principle before the days of February; but, from all my knowledge of him, never violent or impracticable in his opinions. I received official information of his appointment on the 6th instant, from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

June 13. Another scene in the National Assembly.

As soon as the President took the chair yesterday, M. Napoleon Bonaparte ascended the tribune, and said, that although not present at the sitting on Saturday, when General Cavaignac so nobly treated as calumnious the infamous rumors against his relative, he would, nevertheless, as his friend and cousin, claim to address the Assembly; not to make any apology for him, for he needed none, and had he attempted any thing wrong he would be the first to blame him. He then reviewed his conduct since the Republic commenced, to show that it had been in every sense proper; and he protested against imputations being thrown upon him without proof. This is what he had a right to demand for his relative. To deal with him otherwise would be to withhold common justice.

He introduced collateral matter, in which I need not follow him.

A little while afterwards, M. Lamartine rose, and, after some discussion of other matters, which he suspended, and left the tribune from fatigue, returned to it, and resumed his speech in a tone of increased animation. This was caused by confusion in the Chamber from rumors that shots had been fired at the National Guards outside, where crowds were assembled and troops known to be stationed. The startling part of the rumor was, that blood had been shed under a cry of *Vive l'Empereur*. Returning to the tribune, M. Lamartine stated, with great earnestness of manner, that the Executive Committee had that very morning prepared a declaration, which events now compelled him to read immediately, and which, as conspiracy had been taken *flagrante delicto*, and blood been shed, ought to pass by acclamation.

A member called out—No vote by acclamation.

Noise and excitement followed. The President demanded silence from the whole Assembly, that the communication from the Executive Committee under such grave circumstances might be heard.

Mr. Lamartine then read the following decree:—

"The Executive Committee, looking at Article IV. of the law of June, 1816, and

"Considering that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is

comprised in the law of 1832, which banishes the family of Napoleon:

"That if that law has been departed from by the vote of the National Assembly, in favor of three members of that family who were admitted to take their seats as Representatives of the people, such departure from the law is quite personal, and by no means applies to the said Louis Napoleon Bonaparte:

"That Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has twice come forward as a pretender, and that his pretensions might compromise the Republic:

"That the Government cannot accept the responsibility of such acts, and would fail in the first of its duties if it did not take measures to prevent the recurrence of them:

"Declares, that it will cause the law of 1832 to be executed against Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, until such time as the National Assembly shall decide otherwise."

The reading of this decree produced cries of Bravo! bravo! the whole Assembly, rising with shouts of Vive la République!

M. Larabit shouted in his loudest voice—Vive la République, but no proscriptions!

After further remarks from M. Lamartine and M. Larabit,—

M. Pierre Napoleon rose, and said, Shame on those who have cried Vive l'Empereur while

shedding blood! The Emperor, to avoid civil war, sacrificed himself and all his family in 1815. For my part, I shall be found in the first rank of the defenders of the Republic. Loud applause.

M. Napoleon Bonaparte rose. He applauded with all his heart these words of his relative, and desired to appeal to the reason of the Assembly at such a moment. M. Lamartine had eloquently told them that the horrible crime he denounced was committed at the cry of a name never accused of fomenting discord; yet it was under the feeling of execration against such an attempt that he had proposed a bill of proscription. He wished to say nothing to cause excitement, but felt it his duty to protest against a decree inspired by a crime to which the person intended to be proscribed was a stranger.

The Minister of Commerce stated, that the decree was prepared beforehand.

M. Napoleon Bonaparte. "What a moment, then, have you chosen to present it! It will be enough to make any wretches use a name to cover criminal designs." He protested against the connection which M. Lamartine appeared to establish between this crime and the name of his relative, exclaiming, with animation—"The Empire! who wishes for it? It is a chimerical notion; it will remain as a great epoch in history, but can never be revived."

This ended the scene. No vote was taken on

the decree. It came up only as an incident. The Assembly proceeded to its regular business, but soon adjourned, impatient of other discussions.

June 14. Yesterday the Assembly voted, by a great majority, to admit Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to his seat as a Representative. The debate about it occupied nearly the whole sitting. Its substance may be presented thus:—

The members who were for admitting him, said that he had been fairly elected; why, therefore, not let him take his seat? why did not the Executive Government object to his being a candidate? *that* would have been their time. They knew of it, and ought to have warned the electors against misplacing their suffrages; but at that time no one had any fear of the person whom the Government had now made formidable. There was no real danger from him as a pretender; the Republic was too great, too strong; it had planted its standard too high to feel any such alarm. To exclude him from the Assembly, after the people had so fully chosen him, would be to affront their sovereignty and give him a fatal importance. If he had committed a crime, proceed against him, but do not proscribe him. A renewal of such attempts as he made against the Government of Louis Philippe, would be like idle dreams, im-

possible to succeed, and only exposing himself to the contempt of his fellow-citizens and posterity.

The members for excluding him alleged that the present time was different from that of the first elections. It was then unknown from what point strength or danger might arise to the Republic; but, now that the Executive Committee was formed, and the precise position of the Government known, it would be an act of folly to admit any one to a seat in the Assembly who might trouble its tranquillity. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was not a simple Representative, but a Prince and Pretender. Each time he attempted to enter France, his ambition prompted him to the step. He was for coming as the nephew and heir of the rights of the Emperor Napoleon. There was no being blind to this; and would the Chamber invest a Pretender with the inviolability which covered every one of its members? If any election district had chosen, as a member, the Count de Paris or Henry V., would not that have been a false step? To exclude Louis Napoleon was now a law of necessity, which the Assembly ought to enforce.

When the Assembly divided, and it was found those for admission had triumphed, it created great sensation; and an adjournment quickly followed.

We read in this vote a defeat of the Executive Government of the Republic.

June 16. Yesterday, near the close of the sitting of the Assembly, the President rose, and said he had that moment received a letter from Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, which he proceeded to read.

It was addressed to him, as President of the Assembly, dated London, the 14th instant, and stated that, as he was about to set off in order to be at his post, he learned that his election had been made the pretext for disorders and disastrous errors: he repudiated all the suspicion of which he had been the object, for he sought not for power; if the people imposed duties on him, he would know how to fulfil them, but disavowed all those who had made use of his name to excite disturbance; the name he bore was, above all, a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory; and rather than be the subject of disorder and anarchy, he would prefer remaining in exile; he sent enclosed a copy of a letter of thanks to all the electors who had given him their votes, and concluded with requesting the President to communicate to his colleagues the letter addressed to himself.

Considerable agitation followed the reading of this letter. Groups were formed in every part of the Chamber. Several members went to the tribune. The Minister of War, General Cavaignac, said he would not express his thoughts, but could not help remarking that in the letter just read the

word Republic was not even mentioned. Cries of Vive la République!

M. Beaune protested, in the name of all his colleagues, against this declaration of war of the Pretender. They would have no Pretender; but France ought to know how that imprudent citizen had responded to the generosity of the Assembly.

M. A. Thouret. From the emotion of all in the Assembly, it was evident that all were defenders of the Republic; but one expression in the letter, *If the people impose on me duties, I shall know how to fulfil them*, was, in his opinion, an appeal to revolt; and he demanded from the Assembly an immediate decree that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had ceased to be a Representative of the people.

The Minister of War proposed that the Chamber should adjourn the discussion until to-morrow.

M. Jules Favre. There is but one sentiment in the Assembly.

A voice. That is not so sure.

M. Jules Favre. I repeat, there is only one sentiment here—that of indignation. If, two days after his admission as a member, he sends forth an insolent challenge to the National Sovereignty, it is our duty to repel it. I am of opinion that the Assembly cannot separate without passing a resolution that it is unanimous in opposing all dynastic pretensions. If there appears any indication of plot, proceedings ought to be instituted. I de-

mand that the letter and enclosure be placed in the hands of the Minister of Justice. Cries of Yes, yes! [Before to-day, M. Jules Favre had strenuously supported the admission of Prince Louis as a member.]

The Minister of Finance thought it would be most dignified not to act precipitately, but suspend any decision until to-morrow.

General Clement Thomas (commander of the National Guards of the Seine). A proposition is made to suspend your decision until to-morrow. If information which has reached me be correct, it is in all probability a battle which you will have to fight to-morrow. I demand that you declare that any citizen who dares to take up arms to support the cause of a despot [yes, yes, Vive la République!] shall be placed *hors du loi*.

M. E. Arago and M. Duclerc hurried to the tribune; but the noise prevented any one from being heard.

The President rose, and said, "Gentlemen, in the midst of the various propositions, it appears to me that it will be more dignified for the Assembly to make no alteration in the order of its deliberations. Let us not give more importance than it deserves to a matter which may not be as grave as it at first appears."

The Minister of Finance remarked that the Re-

public would not perish because the Assembly postponed its deliberation.

The whole Assembly rose with cries of Vive la République! and the sitting was brought to a close a few minutes after.

Although the enclosure in Prince Louis's letter was not read to the Assembly, I will give its import. It was dated London, the 11th instant, and posted on the walls of Paris, addressed to the electors of the Seine, the Yonne, the Sarthe, and the Seine Inférieure, who had returned him to the National Assembly. He says that their suffrages filled him with gratitude; the more from being unsolicited, and reaching him at a moment when he regretted being inactive, while the country had need of all its children to extricate it from its difficulties; a child of Paris, and now a Representative of the People, he would unite all his efforts to those of his colleagues to re-establish order, secure peace abroad, consolidate democratic institutions, and promote the prosperity and grandeur of the country. The people had been free since the 24th of February. Let all rally round the flag of the Republic, and give to the world the grand spectacle of a people regenerating themselves without violence, civil war or anarchy. In conclusion, he offered them the assurance of his sympathy and devotedness.

"June 17. Workmen and others collected yesterday morning in large numbers in the neighborhood of the Assembly, anxious to know how the case of Prince Louis would be decided. The groups increased as the hour approached for opening the sitting. No troops were ordered out; but military force would have been ready if wanted.

The President took the chair at the usual hour, and rose amidst profound silence in the members. He announced the receipt of a new letter from citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. It was delivered to him in the morning by a person who left London yesterday evening, and he entertained no doubt of its authenticity. It was dated the 15th instant. He proceeded to read the letter amidst cries of Hear, hear! Commencing with the usual address to the President of the Assembly, he says, that he was proud to have been elected a Representative at Paris, and in three other departments: that fact, in his eyes, was an ample reparation for thirty years of exile and six years of captivity; but the offensive suspicions his election had given birth to, the trouble for which it had been the pretext, and the hostility manifested by the Executive Government towards him, imposed on him the duty of refusing an honor which was attributed to intrigue. He desired order and the maintenance of a Republic, prudent, grand and intelligent; and since, involuntarily, he favored disorder, he begged leave,

though not without deep regret, to place his resignation in the President's hands. Soon, he trusted, calm would be restored, and would permit him to return to France as the most simple of her citizens, but also as one most devoted to the repose and prosperity of his country. The letter ends with requesting the President to receive the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

Approbation was manifested in all parts of the Assembly when the reading of this letter was concluded.

The President suggested its transmission to the Minister of the Interior, to allow him to act on it as he might deem proper, with a view to a new election to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Louis Napoleon.

The order of the day was then called for.

A voice exclaimed, Is the resignation accepted?

Yes, yes, from all sides of the Chamber. Then let us proceed to the order of the day.

The Assembly accordingly proceeded to take up its regular business.

This last letter of the Prince, with his letter of the 11th instant to his constituents, unknown to the Assembly when acting on his letter to their President of the 14th, has had, from present appearances, a tranquillizing effect.

June 20. Yesterday the draft of the Constitu-

tion for the Republic was presented to the National Assembly by M. Armand Marrast, the Reporter of the special committee appointed to draw it up. He also read it. When the reading was concluded, no remarks were made; but the Assembly, in consideration of the great importance of the subject, took a recess of half an hour. The sitting was then resumed. Its discussion will come up another day.

As reported, a single Chamber is to constitute the Legislative power. The Executive power is also to be single.

The Representatives to this single Chamber are to be seven hundred and fifty in number, chosen by universal suffrage, by ballot, for three years, and are re-eligible. They must be twenty-five years old. They are to be the Representatives not of the department or district which elects them, but of all France, and can receive no imperative mandate. The National Assembly is to be permanent, but may adjourn for a term not exceeding three months. No Representative can be named, or promoted, to an office held by Executive appointment.

The Executive power is to be in a President chosen by direct and universal suffrage. His age must be thirty at least. He is to be elected for four years, and is not re-eligible until after an interval of four years. He appoints to office and removes; the latter not in all instances without

the advice of the Council of State. The Ministers of his appointment are to have seats in the Assembly and the right of speaking. He is to watch over and assure the execution of the laws. The armed force is at his disposal, but with no power of commanding in person. He cannot dissolve the Legislative body, or in any manner suspend the Constitution or laws. His salary is to be six hundred thousand francs a year, and a residence is to be provided for him.

There is to be a Vice-President "nominated for four years by the Assembly, on the presentation made by the President in the month following his election."* If the President is prevented fulfilling his duties, the Vice-President acts for him. Should he die or resign, a new President is to be elected within a month.

The Council of State is to consist of forty members chosen by the National Assembly. The Representatives are eligible to it. Vacancies in the Assembly caused by the election of members to the Council of State are to be filled up by new elections.

The Judiciary. Some of the Judges are appointed by the President; others by the National Assembly, and all for life or good behaviour. Trial

* Meaning (as I understand) elected by the Assembly on the President's nomination.

by jury in criminal cases to be continued as already existing. Conflicts of power between the administrative and judicial authorities to be decided by a special tribunal of Judges (as explained) nominated every three years in equal numbers by each conflicting authority.

Algeria and the French colonies are to be French territory and governed by special laws.

The press is to be free—without censorship. All religions are to be allowed, and the various ministers of the acknowledged religions are to be paid by the State.

The national debt is guaranteed.

Slavery is abolished in all French colonies. [As by the Provisional Government.] The punishment of death is not to be inflicted for political offences. [As by the Provisional Government.]

France is styled "A Democratic Republic, one and indivisible;" and "all power emanates from the People."

The motto of the Republic is to be "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

"Liberty, equality, safety, instruction, labor, property, assistance" are guaranteed to all citizens.

Under the head of "Public Force," it is declared that every Frenchman owes military service in person, with the exceptions fixed by law. "Substitutes are interdicted."

Article 112, standing by itself in the same chap-

ter, reads thus: "The public force is essentially obedient. No armed force can deliberate."

The foregoing are among the most important provisions and declarations of this anxiously expected Constitution. It consists of one hundred and thirty-nine articles, some running into much detail. Those I bring into view may serve to show the springs that will be likely to move it when undergoing the tests of practical administration. A number of its clauses are similar to the Constitution of the United States. Other parts, and those elementary, are altogether different; as to be expected when different races, acting under different moral and physical causes, found systems of government.

The opening words of the French Constitution are:—

"In the presence of God, and in the name of the French people, the National Assembly proclaims and decrees as follows:—DECLARATION OF DUTIES AND RIGHTS. The duties of man in society are thus summed up:—respect to the Constitution, obedience to the laws, defence of the country, the accomplishment of family duties, and the fraternal practice of the maxim, Do not unto others what you would not wish others to do unto you; what you wish men to do for you, do unto them likewise."

These last words all nations may agree to, as

embodying the precept of universal justice as well as Christian morality.

June 21. To-day the Assembly received the Report on the finances from the Committee of Finance. It takes less favorable views of them than those held up by the Minister of Finance, but compliments him on having resisted the issue of paper money.

June 22. I went last night for the first time to the reception of Mr. Bastide, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The attendance was not large. Of the Diplomatic Corps we had none but the Danish Minister and the Minister from Tuscany; but some of the Ministers of the Government were present. They talked with each other as if anxiously. The tone of the evening was more grave than sprightly.

Major Poussin, the newly-appointed Minister to the United States, was there. With him I chiefly conversed. He thought the Government uneasy at the present state of things. The numerous workmen out of employ were getting more and more discontented. Their discontents were inflamed at the clubs. Many went there from idleness. The speakers, knowing how they felt, and harboring bad designs, ministered to their discontents. These

were his fears, and, he imagined, those of the Government.

I came away between ten and eleven o'clock. Driving over the bridge, the rows of lamps that skirt the Seine and seem to twinkle through the gardens of the Tuileries, with the more brilliant ones in Place Concorde, make the wide spaces of this part of Paris as beautiful by night as day. Every night you see them. They seemed to dim the moonlight. The allied armies were reviewed here in 1814.

June 23. Soon after daybreak this morning I heard the rappel. It was beaten quickly, and sounded as if from several drums beating together. It awoke me, and continued to beat all around where I live until breakfast-time. I went out to learn the cause. Heard there was great alarm all over Paris. I saw National Guards, singly or a few together, hurrying along with their muskets. I then went to the office of Legation. Groups of people fill up the streets. I attempt to go over the bridge at Place Concorde, but cannot, from the guards and troops that block up the way. I go to the bridge of the Invalides and cross there. At the Legation I learn that there is a great insurrection. The rappel had been beating the *générale* in that part of the town. I return the way I went, but find it still more difficult to reach home, from

the increased numbers of the military. They fill up all the approaches to the National Assembly, as if to guard it; and I learn that serious fighting is going on in various parts of Paris.

June 24. The Insurrection rages. The *générale* was beating throughout the night, and the tocsin sounded. It was chiefly at Port St. Denis, Port St. Martin, and streets in that quarter, and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, that the Insurrection broke out. Barricades were raised before daylight yesterday morning, and so quickly on some spots as to get ahead of the Government. The Insurgents even seized on one of the Government's depots. More barricades sprang up, with amazing quickness, at different points in the course of the morning; and to-day the fighting is more deadly, and has extended to positions secured by the Insurgents near Notre Dame, the Sorbonne and the Pantheon. Cannon may be heard, and volleys of musketry, from my residence, which is not far from the Assembly. I walk out, endeavoring to get to the Legation, but find it impossible. I am stopped by sentinels at every turn. Many have been killed, and more wounded, of the National Guard and troops. So, I am told, it is reported to the Assembly. General Cavaignac is commander-in-chief of the whole military, with powers to put down the Insurrection. The Assembly has de-

clared itself in permanent session. Several of the Representatives go out to fight with the National Guard, or give encouragement by their presence.

June 25. The fighting grows more fierce and sanguinary. Nothing but cannon can break down the barricades. The Insurgents got possession of one, but it was soon taken from them. They fight furiously, and, when driven from their barricades, fight hand to hand with knives, sabres, or bayonets. The troops and National Guard fall in the greatest numbers, the Insurgents firing upon them from houses and windows close by the barricades, where the streets are narrow and houses high. The troops enter the houses through showers of bullets. The Insurgents have opened communications from house to house inside, through long distances. The troops do the same. General Cavaignac is invested with the supreme Executive Authority—a dictatorship for the time being. He reports constantly to the Assembly. He orders more troops to Paris by the railways. The city is declared to be in a state of siege. The Executive Committee of five is superseded, but does service in the streets with the National Guard. National Guards from the new provinces come in to act with those of Paris, and the Garde Mobile fight desperately and suffers greatly; more than half at one barricade are said to have fallen.

I cannot get to the Legation; but in the after part of the day I walked out in the streets near me. All is silent, like a city of the dead. You hear not a word. You see nothing but cavalry at the corners, the men sitting on their horses, with up-raised swords, to close all circulation through the streets. I make my way with difficulty as far as Mr. Ridgway's, by taking a roundabout course. This stoppage of circulation is especially strict around the districts where the fight rages, that reinforcements or aid of any kind may be cut off from the Insurgents and their escape prevented when vanquished.

June 26. The Insurrection continues, but is losing ground. The Mayor of Paris writes to the Assembly, from the Hotel de Ville, that most of the long and narrow streets from that great point to Rue St. Antoine were covered with barricades, which the troops were taking one after another, the "incredible desperation" of the Insurgents yielding, at length, to the intrepidity and discipline of the troops. Never before, says the Mayor, were the streets of Paris stained with so much blood. The Insurgents wanted a parley for terms; but Cavaignac would only listen to unconditional surrender. He led in person the attack on the first barricade, and carried it. He acts with great vigor and good generalship, La-

moricière aiding. Shells have been thrown on barricades where resistance was the most obstinate. The Assembly has voted a grant of three millions of francs for assistance to the poorer classes unable to get bread from the state of the capital, and passed a decree that the wives and children of all who fall in defending the laws are adopted by the country. The Insurgents are well armed, and supplied with ball cartridge to profusion.

At twilight this evening I walked into Rue de Lille, the street in which I live. Circulation is still closed by the cavalry at each end; but the street is long, and in walking through it, while scarcely a human being was walking there but myself, I saw women sitting out by the conciergeries in little groups, making up bandages and scraping lint for the wounded among the National Guards. The killed and wounded are known already to be far greater than in the Revolution of February. At night we could hear from our house the cry of the sentries in lengthened-out tones, "*Sentinelle, prenez garde à v-o-us.*" It passed along the bank of the Seine, from sentry to sentry, until the ear caught only the last word, *à v-o-us.* The sound gave token that all was safe in our neighborhood. My residence seems in the very centre of alarms, being between the Assembly and the Tuileries, and in the neighborhood of barracks.

Yesterday, Sunday, the Archbishop of Paris

passed through Rue de Lille, going by my house, on his way to General Cavaignac, then at the Assembly. He was in his ecclesiastical dress, attended by some of his vicars: so my servants reported, two of whom saw him as he passed. He desired the General's permission to go to the barricades as a mediator with healing words to the combatants, in the hope of staying the effusion of blood. The General warned him of the danger. He said he could not pause on that account, when duty called him. The General assented, promising all the protection possible, but alive to his danger. Forthwith he repaired to the scene of blood and mounted a barricade, the troops suspending their fire. Two of his vicars were by his side, and a faithful servant behind him, who was there without his knowledge. His venerable form, and the olive-branch borne before him, touched the conscience of the Insurgents, and their fire stopped. Soon it recommenced. He stood unmoved, while bullets flew about him. At length he was struck, and fell, mortally wounded, his servant striving to catch him in his arms. There is some uncertainty where the fatal bullet came from, the Insurgents disavowing it; and perhaps, in the confusion, it was uncertain. In dying, this noble-minded prelate expressed the hope of the Christian martyr, that his death might do good to his country. Alas! the

fighting continued! Overpowering numbers and discipline alone put an end to it.

June 27. Yesterday, at an early hour in the morning, it was announced to the Assembly that the Government was in possession of all the strongholds of the Insurgents, except the Faubourg St. Antoine. As their resistance became more hopeless, it grew more bloody. When driven from their rude, yet formidable ramparts, it was supposed they intended to rally, in their desperation, on Montmartre, outside, thinking fresh numbers might the better join them there. They declared they would die fighting, rather than surrender, except upon terms. They got possession of a large cannon, from which they poured a murderous fire on the troops. The troops silenced it with howitzers. Finally they gave way, but were undismayed to the last, many turning round and firing before throwing away their muskets. Some horse-artillery of the National Guards pursued; but the cavalry was able to do this more effectually, and made many prisoners beyond the barriers. More were taken in the streets, and in the houses from which they had been fighting, and from which the troops prevented their escape, as far as possible. Had they rallied on the heights of Montmartre, it was their insane hope to have recruited

their force for a fresh struggle by night signals to their confederates all over Paris.

June 28. The Insurrection appears to be now entirely suppressed.

The day being fine, I walk out to various parts of Paris to view the scenes of havoc and slaughter. I go to Port St. Denis, Port St. Martin, to the long street St. Antoine, through which I walk, and through parts of other streets, not omitting Rue de Charenton, Rue St. Jacques, and so onward to the Sorbonne and Pantheon. My son, Madison Rush, Lieutenant in the United States Navy, who is with us on leave of absence from his ship, is the companion of my walk. We see where the numerous barricades were raised, defended and overthrown. Crowds of persons are moving along the same streets, with the same object as ourselves. Too plain to all are the traces of the sanguinary fight. Houses shattered by cannon-balls; many, many more, so many that they could not easily be counted, riddled through all the woodwork by the musketry of the troops and National Guard. We were only left to imagine those fierce hand-to-hand struggles where so many were killed. The horrors of a battle-field, where the dead, the wounded and the dying are left exposed, we did not see; but it was the battle-field of a dense city, where the slain

and wounded were borne off as they fell, replete with horrors less common, but not less frightful.

We also passed along the Boulevards, Place Concorde, and Champs Elysées in parts where, although there was no actual fighting, every thing bespoke the conflict there had been. The siege is still kept up; and those spacious thoroughfares where the gay and fashionable of Paris and Europe throng in their equipages and morning promenades, and along which I passed in my carriage, when all was so silent, in going home from the Foreign Office, the very night before the Insurrection, now look like half-abandoned encampments. Scattered wisps of hay and the litter of cavalry, horses tied to iron palisades, detachments of infantry, their arms stacked, the men lying down on straw, looking jaded, some asleep, after this din of battle,—such is the picture of these streets now.

In the Assembly to-day, General Cavaignac resigned his extraordinary powers. The Assembly passed a vote of thanks to him, and a decree confiding to him the whole Executive power, with authority to appoint the Ministers. These votes went through amidst the loudest cheers and clapping of hands, the members all rising and waving their hats as well as cheering. The General went to the tribune (his appearance producing fresh acclamations), and asked leave to propose that the thanks should include the gallant army and National

Guards, and various general officers who had so devotedly seconded him in his efforts to quell the Insurrection. His proposition was received with another burst of applause.

In the evening sitting, he announced to the Assembly the names he had selected for the new Cabinet, which I need not recapitulate, as changes may occur. Some of the old members, whom the Insurrection found there, are continued. All resigned when the "Executive Committee" ceased to exist by General Cavaignac's investiture with the supreme command.

June 29. Soon after the Assembly met, the President proceeded to read the draft of an address to the French nation, which had been prepared by order of the Chamber. Its first words are, "Frenchmen, anarchy has been overcome! Paris is still standing! Justice shall have its course!" It goes on: "Honor to the courage and patriotism of the National Guards of Paris, and of the departments; to the brave and ever glorious army; to the young and intrepid Garde Mobile; to the pupils of the schools; and to the innumerable volunteers who threw themselves into the breach for the defence of order and liberty." "The attacks of these new barbarians were," it says, "against the civilization of the nineteenth century; in their code, family was but a name, and property spoliation; but

the Republic, the work of God, the living law of humanity, could not perish; they (the Assembly) swear it in the name of France, and by all those noble victims who fell by their fratricidal hands." These are some of the words of the address. It appeals to all Frenchmen to unite in love of their country; to remove the last vestiges of civil discord; "to maintain firmly the conquests of liberty and democracy, and to let nothing induce them to depart from the principles of their Revolution." When the reading was concluded, all the members rose, crying, Vive la République!

At this sitting, the President also read, in the form of a decree, a tribute to the Archbishop of Paris, in these words:

"That the National Assembly regards it as a duty to proclaim the sentiment of religious gratitude and profound affliction which it feels for the devotedness shown by the Archbishop of Paris; and for his death, so heroic, so holy." It was adopted unanimously, amidst evident marks of deep feeling throughout the Assembly.

July 5. A member of the late Government having insinuated in the Assembly, on the breaking out of the Insurrection, that foreign gold had something to do with it, the British Ambassador, in a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, protested strongly against any possible application of the

words to his country. Mr. Bastide replied, that the opinion of his Government, as well as his own, was, that Her Majesty the Queen was too just to have taken any part in exciting the frightful events in Paris; and says to Lord Normanby that he would see with the greater pleasure publicity given to this declaration and Lord Normanby's note, as it would be a new proof of the sentiments of reciprocal friendship which animated the two Governments.

July 8. The funeral of the Archbishop of Paris took place yesterday. The concourse was great. Detachments of the military headed the procession. Various religious communities, with the clergy of Paris and its environs, followed. Black banners were carried, on which were inscribed the dying words of the Prelate. The body was borne by National Guards, the face being left uncovered; and six bishops were pall-bearers. Members of the National Assembly, headed by their President, attended, and deputations from various bodies of the State. The service was performed at the Cathedral, and is said, with the mournful music, to have been very touching.

Having mentioned the principal events of the Insurrection, closing with the sad ceremony just noted, I will succinctly advert to some of its causes and possible consequences, as my impressions of

both were imparted to my Government after it was over.

The Provisional Government gave instant relief, and promised employment to the workmen of Paris and its vicinity suddenly thrown out of employment by the Revolution. This, as a temporary measure to supply the wants of a large class in danger of starving, was natural; more especially as these men did their proportion of the fighting in the cause that brought them to want. But, under the maxims and movements of the Revolution, the Provisional Government established national workshops, and undertook to provide work in them for these masses of the French population, as part of the policy of the new Republic. This doctrine had long been inculcated in the writings of the Socialists, and they thought the time had arrived for putting it in practice. English Socialists came over to aid their French brethren in the work. That some who held this creed were sincere, ought not to be doubted; but it cannot be supposed all were. The national workshops, in which work was to be provided, did not accomplish the object. They did not, and could not, employ every body. All who worked in them were paid two francs a day. This was too little for good workmen, and too much for bad. The work was badly done; and the accumulating excess of workmen who got no employment was thrown as a charity upon the Government at

some inferior allowance, that its promise might not be wholly broken. This made a heavy aggregate of expense to the Government, without satisfying the workmen; and the consequence was discontent among all. For the first days after the Revolution their conduct was orderly, and for a longer time they submitted patiently. But idleness created bad habits, and actual or approaching want was beginning to render some among them turbulent. Evil-minded persons fomented their discontent, took them to the clubs, and worked upon their passions. Many desired to separate from the main body and seek work as they could find it in Paris or in the country; but this was not allowed by their more resolute companions or by the clubbists, who kept them in training, and kept them in Paris. The Government sent some into the Provinces. This they did not like, and tried to resist; which made more bad blood. Things under such a system were tending from bad to worse. The Provisional Government saw the difficulty, without being able to escape from it fast enough to appease all the bad passions ripening for explosion. Finally, the same body of men whose humanity and forbearance in February, when the Revolution raged, were a theme of admiration, and whose obedience to the laws was witnessed for a month afterwards, were converted into instruments for oversetting the National Assembly for a brief moment on the 15th

of May, and for this terrible Insurrection in June. This may be taken, as it appears to me, as an outline of the most important of its proximate causes.

It was, indeed, a terrible Insurrection. My summary entries while it was in progress do not tell half its horrors. The number of the Insurgents has been estimated at from thirty to fifty thousand. General Cavaignac said in the Assembly a few days ago that no one reckoned it beyond fifty thousand; from which it would seem that he inclined to that number rather than a lower one. If a medium be struck, it leaves an appalling number, when it is considered that all were efficient for fighting and fought protected by walls and stone barricades. The army in Paris was twenty-five thousand strong when the fighting began, and consisted of the war battalions and other troops in high discipline. The regulars were increased as the fighting continued. The National Guard and volunteers more than doubled, it is believed, the number of regulars. It seems admitted that the barricades were reared at the two points for carrying the Hotel de Ville and National Assembly; that some were admirably constructed, and that the Insurgents obeyed signals and orders which passed quickly through their lines from their leaders and were suited to their objects. All this may be explained by remembering that from their

great numbers, many among them must have seen service in the conscription. Hence their effective discipline, attested by their withstanding for four days and nights military forces largely outnumbering their own, and directed by veterans who brought against them all the apparatus of war. They even perforated with loopholes the city wall of Paris, at proper distances, where the wall is ten or twelve feet high, and kept up through these loopholes, which they took care should be near some of their strong barricades, a fire upon the troops, which the latter could not return—the Insurgents getting outside of the barriers when firing.

Of the killed and wounded among them, hardly any thing appears to be yet known. Of the killed and wounded in the army, Guards and volunteers, no authentic list has yet appeared; but the number must be fearful, when four generals were killed and seven wounded, a majority of whom, it is said, fought in Algeria. An estimate of the number has been roughly made at from seven to ten thousand. Of members of Assembly, four are among the dead, and five wounded.

The Insurrection has left behind it difficulties, if not dangers. Its watchwords were, "*Down with the Assembly! Vive la République Démocratique et Sociale!*" It hung out the red flag. Six thousand, some say eight thousand, were captured; but

greatly more escaped, notwithstanding the precautions of the army for hemming them in. On some of the women of the Insurgent force captured by the troops were found deadly weapons, as well as the ammunition they carried for the use of the insurgents.

The overthrow of the "Executive Committee" is a new starting-point in the administrative power of the Republic. Anticipations of what is to come baffle all; and the remark I now hear most frequently is, though it may look like a paradox, that nothing is certain except the uncertainty that hangs over the political future of France. Speaking of the present, it is evident that great changes have been working in men's minds. At the first general election in April, M. Thiers cautiously sought a candidateship for the Assembly, but failed; and none could have imagined that Louis Napoleon would ever be a candidate. At the special elections in June, both were chosen. The sensation the latter then created, would not have lived a moment in the political atmosphere of Paris in February or March. The continued prostration of industry and credit; the reduced means of individuals; the diminished revenues and increased expenses of the State; an increasing want of confidence felt by all, with under-tones of discontent advancing more and more to utterance—these, with plots and new combinations of bad men for bad

purposes, have all been tending to impair the hopes which the Revolution at first created. Those who cherished them are reluctantly brought to perceive that the future is not only full of uncertainty, but overcast with gloom. The Insurrection is crushed, but the Insurgents live; and live with hatred in their hearts. The Assembly passed a decree for banishing all who were captured; but to send off to remote seas and islands six or eight thousand of them would not be easy. It may prove more difficult, though orders for it have gone forth, to disarm all the malcontents among an excited and spirited people accustomed to have arms, but in whose hands it might now be unsafe to leave them. Such considerations are discouraging. Though military power, directed by a strong hand, defeated this formidable Insurrection, the feeling it has left may reappear under other forms of trouble and revenge. The French commonalty, once roused, are quick to move, brave to ferocity when their blood is up, and fertile in expedients. Their prowess shown in the Insurrection, although it did not triumph, may have revived traditions of the old Revolution, and roused guilty hopes in bad men who will always find leaders. These are forebodings that steal into anxious minds. They cannot be kept down after what has happened. Martial law is still in operation in Paris, General Cavaignac recommending it; and his voice is now

the most potent. Too true it also is that society at large has come to feel more safe under its shield.

Others say that the suppression of the Insurrection, however deplorable the cost, will be productive of good. It has shown the power of the Republic, in a face-to-face conflict, over the dangerous doctrines which the Revolution stirred up; that such a conflict was inevitable, and best that it should have come when it did. This opinion receives countenance from the facts that not only were the National Guards of Paris hearty and unflinching, but that those from the Provinces hurried to the capital to share in putting down the Insurrection; and that even the rural population, inspired by the same good feeling, were seen to go forward in the cause of law and order. The cry of Vive la République still goes up, in the Assembly and out of doors, on every occasion to excite it. It has been uttered from the beginning by those who did not believe in a Republic for France. That this class has been growing larger is evident; yet all seem bent on giving the Republic a fair trial, which it will have, they say, when the new Constitution comes into being, and not until then. Count Montalembert, M. Dupin, M. Thiers, Odillon Barrot, Léon Faucher, Victor Hugo, and others of high name in the Assembly are favorable to a double Legislative Chamber. Should this altera-

tion be made in the Constitution before its final adoption by the Assembly, speaking as an American, I should have higher hopes of its successful operation. Will the declaration which guarantees labor to "all citizens" be retained, after the experience of the Insurrection, which grew out of the impossibility of the Government's being able to provide labor for all after having promised it to all? I am not able to reply to an inquiry so natural.

And where is now the Executive Committee of Five; they who dispensed the whole Executive power of France; who received Foreign Ministers and appointed them? Where is Lamartine, who was all in all? who rode in the whirlwind and at first kept down the fury of the storm? who saved society by his courage and a flash of eloquence?—who kept peace at home and abroad, receiving plaudits from all but the Red Republicans, the most dangerous of whom he defied and tamed? Where is he? Hardly seen, or seen only as a star setting. But the good he did cannot soon be forgotten. His genius is left to him; and he knows the delights of literature; a fondness for which revolutions can neither give nor take away.

But I turn from thoughts which involuntarily spring up from what passes around me, whatever may be their errors. None can understand a country, or have full claim to speak of its future, but those who belong to it, or live in it long enough to

catch its whole genius and characteristics. There are times when even these are brought to a stand in judging—get perplexed by complications they cannot disentangle. How much more liable to err is the transient person! How often are those of other countries baffled in passing upon the condition of England! How often, and often how soon, are predictions respecting her resources and prospects overset by opposite results! There come persons to the United States who carry away opinions which, to ourselves, seem mistakes at every turn—wrong inferences from imperfect knowledge, even where truth may be honestly sought. How then can strangers hope to look into the veiled future of France?

July 10. To-day I dined at the Marquis Brignole's, the Sardinian Ambassador; the first time I have dined out since the close of February. It was a treat to get back to quiet intercourse with the Diplomatic Corps, after the boisterous scenes France has been going through; and I regretted the unavoidable absence of my daughters, who were to have been with me. I do not hear much of social intermingling among its members since the hurricane that scattered us all. Those here to-day had each a little to say on what has been passing. I learned that the Sardinian Government recognised the Republic two days ago. Rather a large even-

ing-party assembled in the rooms after dinner. Rumors floated through them that another outbreak of some kind was expected on the 14th of this month, being the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile.

Mr. George Lafayette, who was chosen a Vice-President of the National Assembly the early part of June, to fill the vacancy created by M. Bethmont's appointment as Minister of Justice, was elected again to that station since the present month came in. The vote for him was the largest among several candidates. I mention with renewed pleasure this second tribute to him from the Assembly.

July 12. Yesterday the Assembly passed a bill, by an overwhelming vote, for the formation of a camp of fifty thousand troops, to be stationed within the city or its environs. The measure was proposed by General Cavaignac some days ago.

Secondly. The press has been laid under restrictions beyond any in the time of the Monarchy. The Abbe de Lamennais gives up his paper in consequence of one of them—the caution-money required; saying, he had not gold enough to pay it.

Thirdly. The political clubs are all to be bridled. A bill to this effect has been brought forward in the Assembly by the Minister of the Interior. Citizens are at liberty to open a club, provided

they make a preliminary declaration of their intentions to the Prefect of Police at Paris, and to the Mayor of the commune in all the departments; all sittings to be public, with ample accommodation to be reserved for those not members; a Government functionary of the Republic to have the privilege of attending, and a seat to be always specially reserved for him; a record of the proceedings of each sitting to be drawn up by the President and Secretary; no club ever to resolve itself into a secret committee, or entertain any proposition tending to excite disturbance or civil war. These are its chief provisions, with penalties to secure their observance. The bill can hardly fail to become a law in all its essential parts.

The Insurrection dictated these measures. An appropriation was proposed for another object, which the Insurrection has made necessary. It was that six hundred and seventy thousand francs (670,000) be granted in aid of the Theatres and Opera, crippled by the late turmoils. A bill for carrying into effect this grant may be expected to pass, if the other bills pass. What opposite things are seen in this metropolis! The contrast is often beautiful; sometimes startling. Places of amusement unrivalled; renowned schools of literature and art; a National Library incalculable in value, the very manuscripts of which, ancient and modern, fill a hundred thousand volumes; the

richest endowments for fostering science; the most beneficent establishments for alleviating human misfortune and misery, under whatever forms seen; so that the philanthropist, the profound philosopher, the deep student, the curious in the fine arts, the votary of fashion, all come to Paris as a place where something useful may be learned or something agreeable enjoyed, something to stimulate the intellect or incite to pleasure. Then, again, are seen Governments uprooted and thrown to the winds with scarcely a moment's warning; consternation and horror appearing on the stage with enthusiasm and hope; the good and bad principle springing into activity and contending for the mastery; plots and strife getting to work; want and starvation stalking about; passion let loose; conflicts following in quick succession; representatives of the people, chosen in the fairest possible manner, driven from their seats; blood flowing in the streets like water; all true liberty attacked—suspended—and when or how to be reinstated no one knows. Both sides of this picture have been visible in Paris since I began these memorandums.

July 14. The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile comes and goes without an outbreak.

July 18. I went this evening to the reception of General Cavaignac, at his new residence, Rue de

Varennes. It was the first since his ascent to the Executive power. The Minister of Foreign Affairs had notified the Foreign Ministers that he would hold one; and great was the attendance of army officers, those of the National Guard, and other persons, including Ministers of State. I presented to him Mr. Stanton, Secretary of Legation, and my son. He received numerous congratulations from those who had no opportunity of offering them before, and received them with soldierly grace, heightened by a commanding person.

July 24. The National Assembly opened to-day with an Address to the members by M. Marrast, the new President under the monthly routine of election. After acknowledging the honor conferred upon him by electing him to the chair, he said it was owing to their energy, and that of the Executive, that they were now able to pursue their deliberations, when peace not only reigned in the streets, but was gradually returning to the public mind. He paid tributes to their gallant colleagues who had shed their blood in the cause of the Republic, and, after other appropriate remarks, sat down amidst marks of approbation.

The main business of the sitting was the passing of a bill for a loan of one hundred and seventy-five millions of francs, or two hundred, as the case might be, at the price of seventy-five francs twenty-

five centimes. These terms were not considered the best, but agreed best with the wants of the treasury and present state of the public credit. The Minister of Finance so expressed himself, frankly.

July 31. Last week the proper Bureau made report to the Assembly that, on examining the case of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, elected a Representative for Corsica, the proceedings were found to be regular, and that he was entitled to take his seat under this election.

The President then read a letter addressed to him by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte from London. It ran thus:—That he had just learned that, notwithstanding his former resignation, he had been elected to the Assembly for Corsica; that, although deeply grateful for this mark of confidence, the reasons which forced him to refuse the post of Representative for the Seine, Yonne and Charante Inférieure still existed, and imposed on him another sacrifice; that, without renouncing the honor of one day being a Representative of the People, he thought he ought not to return to his country, until his presence in France could in no manner serve as a pretext to the enemies of the Republic; he trusted that his disinterestedness would prove the sincerity of his patriotism, and it was his wish that those who accused him of ambition might be

convinced of their error. He concludes with requesting the President to inform the Assembly of his resignation, as well as his regret at not being able to participate in its labors; and of his ardent prayers for the happiness of the Republic.

It was not necessary to take any step under this letter; but when the President finished reading it, cries of "très-bien! très-bien!" were heard throughout the Chamber.

August 17. I Attend the reception of General Lamoricière, Minister of War. His rooms were nearly filled with military officers. Most efficient were the services rendered by him during the Insurrection. Trained, like Cavaignac, in Algeria, the latter paid the highest tributes to his ability in the Assembly.

August 22. Go again to General Cavaignac's reception. A great crowd, as before, and chiefly of the military. The Marquis of Normanby was there, and the Marchioness. I learn that the former presented his credentials as Ambassador from England on Saturday, and was first received by General Cavaignac on that day. The step came about through the co-operation of England and France in a mediation in the affairs of Austria and Sardinia. France sent a special minister to London, in the person of Monsieur de Beaumont, on the business

of this mediation, as soon as she learned that he would be received in that capacity by the English Government. This opened a door to the renewal of diplomatic intercourse; and the reception of Lord Normanby, by the Executive Head of the French Government, followed on the 19th of this month. Such is the information I get. England, shy in the beginning, was also wise. She felt the importance of keeping alive her intercourse with France, though the Monarchy had fallen; for the Nation stood. France, proud and sensitive, could not but feel the advantage of not breaking with England when the Revolution came. England again had her people scattered in thousands throughout Paris, and other cities and towns of France, spending their money for pleasurable and other purposes; and large bands of her laboring men working on French railroads; not to speak of international interests, otherwise linking two such neighboring countries together in ways beneficial to both. Business operations between them have, therefore, gone on from the first. M. Lamartine, while at the head of the movement, acted in concert with Lord Normanby, in so sensible a course, until matters have ripened into the recognition stated.

August 24. Dine at M. Bastide's, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was a very large dinner, given

to the Diplomatic Corps, members of the Cabinet, and other official persons, including members of the Assembly. Among the latter were M. Drouyn de l'Huys, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, Mr. George Lafayette, and his son Oscar Lafayette. It was the first entertainment of the kind given since the Republic was proclaimed. Appearances were much the same as in the days of M. Guizot.

General Cavaignac came to the drawing-rooms after dinner. Other company also came. General Cavaignac acts as President of the Council of Ministers, as the adjunct of his higher station as Executive head of the Republic. I finished the evening by going with my friend, Mr. Lafayette, to the soirée of the President of the National Assembly, where there was a brilliant assemblage of ladies, and a concert.

September 2. Dined at M. Marrast's, President of the National Assembly; an entertainment larger than the one at M. Bastide's, and given to the Executive head of the Government, the Foreign Ministers, members of the Cabinet, members of the Assembly and others. The dining-room and suite in connection were extremely rich in architecture and the hangings. They were once part of the old palace of the Prince of Condé, renovated and fitted up, in the wing or portion where we assembled, for

the official residence of the President of the National Assembly. The whole suite, blazing with light from chandeliers, ornate lamps, and candelabra, presented a contrast to the relative simplicity of the rooms in which M. Sauzet, as President of the Chamber of Deputies, entertained the Diplomatic Corps and home functionaries at dinner, as mentioned in a former page, a few days before the King's fall.

September 9. My memorandum of to-day is of a dinner at the Marquis of Normanby's, the first at the British Embassy since the Revolution, as far as known to me; and as it was given to General Cavaignac in his capacity of Executive Head of the Republic, I the rather make a memorandum of it.

General Cavaignac's Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; General Lamoricière, his Minister of War, and Madame Lamoricière; General Changarnier, Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard; a good portion of the Diplomatic Corps, and some English gentlemen, made up the company. I do not name all, not knowing all. Twenty or more appeared to be present. General Cavaignac led the Marchioness of Normanby to the table, and Lord Normanby Madame Lamoricière. My chair was next to General Cavaignac, Lord Normanby assigning it to me.

In the conversation I had with General Cavaignac, he said, that because the former Republic of France was attended by wars and commotion, persons thought it would be the same now; but it should not be, if he could prevent it. He was for peace, and for a Republic over all other forms of government. He paid a compliment to the United States, which it was not for me to disown or question the sincerity of, his antecedents having bound him to the Republican faith; although not to its dangerous extremes, as all know.

This happened to be my first dinner at an English table in Paris, though not the first time I and my daughters had received cards to dine at this table. Notwithstanding the just fame of France in social refinements, English dinners seem to have an advantage in being smaller, which is more favorable to conversation and tranquillity, if I may so express it. I am, however, an incompetent judge, having been to fewer French dinners than English, and to very few in unofficial life; while in London private dinner-parties are constant, the Diplomatic Corps sharing largely in them. A profusion of rich plate was on the table this evening, which is more the English usage; porcelain predominating on French tables.

I will close this entry with a little incident, hoping the allusion to it will not infringe upon propriety. An English Peer sat on the other side of

me. We get into conversation, and he asks me to take wine. In accepting, I tell him I am thankful; for although I had been in Paris a year, and seen beautiful dinners, it was the first time I had been asked to drink a glass of wine. Was it national? The Anglo-Saxon race on our side of the Atlantic did it, and now I would hope to infer, from the kind challenge of my neighbor, that the custom was not dead in Old England. It was not, he said. Whenever you caught the eye you wanted across the table, and took up your glass, you were understood, and your friend filled too. The custom came from good feeling, I thought; and so thought my English friend through whose courteous act I was able to welcome it in Paris.

September 16. Dine at General Cavaignac's. All the Diplomatic Corps were there, I believe,—all, at least, whose Governments have recognised the Republic,—and many military officers. I observed none of the Cabinet, except M. Bastide, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

My place at table was next to General Cavaignac, who desired me to take it as we entered the dining-room. Our conversation touched upon England, to the freedom of whose institutions he did justice. I learned from the Sardinian Ambassador, who was near me, that General Cavaignac spoke the Italian and Spanish languages, and had nearly

mastered the Arabic. The latter he acquired at snatches of leisure during his campaigns in Algeria.

I informed General Cavaignac of a letter addressed to him by the President of the United States, which had reached me only to-day, in answer to one from him to the President conveyed by Mr. Poussin, Minister of the Republic at Washington; and that after dinner I would ask M. Bastide to take his directions as to the time when I might have the honor of delivering it to him. He replied, off-hand, that he would receive it to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, not knowing of any other engagement to prevent him.

I mentioned this to M. Bastide, and asked at what hour I might call on him in the morning with a copy of the letter before I delivered it,—the form usual when letters are written by heads of Governments to each other. He appointed nine o'clock.

In the drawing-room, after dinner, I spoke also to General Cavaignac on re-establishing the consulate at Boston, stating its importance from the population and commerce of Boston. The subject seemed new to him, and he was not aware of the reasons for abolishing the French consulate there, but would talk with M. Bastide and inform himself on the subject. I also used the opportunity to express a hope that Mr. Isnard's desire to be reappointed consul at that port might be favorably viewed, in case the French Government had formed

no wishes for a new appointment, as, by the representations made to me, he had performed his duties in a manner altogether acceptable to the commercial community of Boston.

September 17. As I leave my house to call on M. Bastide, I receive a note from him regretting that he cannot see me at nine, having, since we parted last evening, been summoned to attend a meeting of the Council at General Cavaignac's this morning; which also breaks up my appointment there at twelve o'clock. Nevertheless, I go to the office of Foreign Affairs and leave for M. Bastide a copy of the President's letter, as promised, adding that I will be ready to deliver the original at any time convenient to General Cavaignac.

The 28th of the month was afterwards named as the day; but when I called on that day General Cavaignac was confined to his bed by indisposition. The President's letter called for no act on his part, my reception by the Republic being already established. It contained renewed expressions of friendly hope for the prosperity and duration of the Republic under the new Constitution in course of formation; replied in appropriate terms to the friendly tone of General Cavaignac's letter transmitted by Mr. Poussin, and spoke of the latter as formerly known and esteemed in the United States, and as having acted with usefulness in their service. These sen-

timents being all before General Cavaignac; in the copy of the letter I had furnished, it was agreed in the end that a personal delivery of the original had become only matter of form, and might be dispensed with.

September 30. Prince Louis Napoleon here comes again into these desultory notes.

The elections for the National Assembly, held in Paris on the 19th of this month, resulted in his being returned by a larger vote than was given to any of the other candidates chosen on the same day. This renewed and large confidence induced him to leave London; and, acting no longer on the principle of resigning, he became a member of the Assembly on the 26th of the month. Surprise and curiosity pervaded the Chamber as he entered by one of the side doors, and, for the first time, took his seat as a member, by sitting down at the side of M. Vieillard, his former tutor. All eyes turned to that part of the Chamber. Some little bustle followed, which the President checked by a call on the members to keep silence.

M. Clement went to the tribune, and reported to the Assembly that he had been charged by his bureau to declare the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; that it was regular; that no opposition was made to it, and that the bureau recommended

his admission, provisionally, until he should justify his age and nationality.

Cries arose that the case should be sent back to the bureau for an unequivocal report.

M. Vivien rose and stated that the bureau was satisfied of the validity of the election, and that the members of it then present in the house all agreed that an absolute declaration in favor of his admission might have been made, the notoriety of his age and nationality supplying the place of documents. He therefore proposed that the election be proclaimed valid, and that the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte be admitted to his seat. Cries of Yes, yes, came from the Chamber; and it now became evident that there would be no opposition to his taking his seat at once.

Louis Napoleon then rose from the seat he had taken, and requested permission to speak. Members from all parts of the Chamber exclaimed, "To the tribune! to the tribune!"

He left his seat, and, ascending the tribune, read from a paper the address following: Citizen Representatives,—It is not permitted to me to keep silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I want to express here frankly, and on the first day that I am permitted to sit among you, the true sentiments which animate me—which have always animated me. After thirty years of proscription and exile, I at last recover my country,

and all my rights of a citizen. The Republic has given me this happiness: let the Republic receive my oath and gratitude; my oath of devotedness. And may my generous countrymen who have brought me into this Assembly be certain that I shall endeavor to justify their votes by laboring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, that first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the people have a right to demand. Long have I been prevented from devoting to France more than the meditations of my exile and captivity. At present the career in which you are all advancing, is open to me also. Receive me, my dear colleagues, into your ranks with the same sentiment of affectionate confidence that I bring with me here. My conduct, always inspired by duty—always animated by respect for the law—will prove, in relation to the passions which have endeavored to blacken my character in order again to proscribe me, that no one here more than myself is resolved to devote himself to the defence of order and freedom of the Republic.

The address was received with marks of approbation. He returned to his seat; and, although no strong sensation was roused, it was the incident of the day. Other business grew languid, and the Assembly rose without a lengthened sitting. I did not hear the address. A member told me that it was read distinctly, with a firm voice, though not

with a pronunciation purely French, but tinged with the German.

October 10. In the Assembly yesterday, the new Constitution being under discussion, the President read an amendment proposed by M. A. Thouret, in these words: "No member of the families which have reigned in France can be elected President or Vice-President of the Republic."

The mover of the proposition advocated it in a few words. Another member, M. Woirhaye, rose and stated that the subject of the amendment had been under consideration in the committee and rejected; for, although it was thought that royalist and imperial families were not the best qualified for acting upon Republican ideas, the democratic principle was too deeply rooted in the country to cause fears to be entertained of what were called pretenders.

Other members spoke, some one way, some another.

Louis Napoleon ascended the tribune, and briefly said that he did not come to speak against the amendment, or make complaint of calumnies; but, in the name of the 300,000 electors who had chosen him, to disavow the appellation of pretender so constantly brought against him.

M. A. Thouret thereupon said, that after that declaration he considered the amendment useless,

and withdrew it. Nevertheless it was put to the vote, and rejected; Louis Napoleon not voting upon it.

October 16. After the Republic came in, I was charged by the Secretary of State to give attention to the subject of the tobacco monopoly. I brought it to the notice of M. Bastide, who gave me no encouragement, but the reverse. The new Government wanted, he said, all the revenue attainable, and could not afford to part with so considerable an item as tobacco yielded,—but intimated his willingness to look more into the subject hereafter. I brought it to the notice of M. Drouyn de l'Huys, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the National Assembly, with no better success, his reasons being much the same; and I lost no opportunity of introducing it as a topic in my intercourse with such members of the Assembly as I thought might be likely to appreciate what I said about it. None gave much attention to the doctrine I held up, that, by admitting our tobacco under a moderate but fair duty, its increased importation into France might result beneficially to the trade of both countries. That might or might not follow; but loss of present revenue would be certain if they changed the laws relating to tobacco. It was in this way all my advances were met.

But still more to the point:—On the 22d of June,

M. Thouret laid a proposition before the Assembly that the sale of tobacco and snuff should no longer be exclusively in the hands of the Government, but be open and free. The proposition did not receive twenty-five votes out of the whole Assembly, and thus fell to the ground; that number of assenting votes being required before any proposition can come before the Chamber, even for consideration. This vote would seem to show that public opinion in France is in favor of the monopoly, when we consider that the members have all so recently been chosen by universal suffrage throughout all parts of France.

The vote is discouraging to any favorable changes for us in any respect, at least for the present, in the French tariff, over the laws regulating it in the time of the Monarchy. The King's words to me at St. Cloud, in November, that "a public conviction long entertained in France in matters of trade was not easily altered," receives confirmation from this vote. The Provisional Government, on coming into power, abolished the Octroi, a duty on meats, liquors, and other things within the limits of Paris, but soon restored it. The Republic also kept up the salt tax, of which the King recommended a reduction. These matters I have made known to my Government.

It ought not to be overlooked that the Republic succeeded to heavy debts from the Monarchy; and

that these debts and other arrearages, from the subsequent falling off of trade and derangement of credit, have been increasing, in the absence of all ability, thus far, to effect any reductions of them.

October 27. Prince Louis Napoleon yesterday went to the tribune, and read, amidst profound silence throughout the Chamber, a paper to the purport following:—

Addressing the body as citizen representatives, he said, that the unpleasant incident which closed the discussion of the preceding day did not allow him to keep silence: he deplored being obliged again to speak of himself; it was repugnant to his feelings to be unceasingly bringing personal matters before the Assembly, when not a moment was to be lost in attending to grave public questions. He would not speak of his own sentiments: they had already been explained: no one ever had occasion to doubt his word. As to his conduct in the Chamber, as he never could permit himself to call any of his colleagues to an account for what they did, he recognised in no one the right to demand of him explanations of his course: he owed that account only to his constituents. He was accused of accepting from the popular feeling a candidateship which he never claimed; he accepted that honor because three successive elections, and the unanimous decree of the National Assembly against

the proscription of his family, authorized him, to believe that France regarded the name he bore as able to aid in the consolidation of society, shaken to its foundations, and make the Republic prosperous. (Loud exclamations of dissent among the members.) They who accused him of ambition knew little of his heart; his silence was turned into a reproach against him; it was only a few who were gifted with the power of eloquent language in the service of just ideas in that Chamber. But was there no other way of serving the country? What it wanted was acts: it wanted a wise and firm Government, which would think more of healing the wounds of society than of avenging them, and which could overcome, better than bayonets, theories not founded on experience and reason: (fresh dissent.) He would not fall into snares set in his way; he would pursue the straight-forward course he had traced out for himself. Nothing should disturb his calm, nothing make him forget his duty. He had but one object, which was to merit the esteem of the Assembly and of all men of worth, and the confidence of a magnanimous people. He would reply, henceforth, to no interpellation—to no provocation. Strong in his own conscience, he would remain immovable under all attacks, impassable against all calumnies.

His allusion in the commencement was to some sharp-shooting on the day preceding, about candidates for the Presidency. In the course of it, he

had been charged with having agents in the departments appealing to the less enlightened portions of the people in his behalf. His cousins in the Assembly rose to repel the charge. Cries broke forth that he would go to the tribune and speak for himself; but he continued in his seat.

During the same sitting, the time of holding the election for President was also settled. There were different opinions on this point: some were for a day in November, some for a later day. Eminent speakers shared in the debate—amongst them, Odillon Barrot, Dupin, the distinguished Count Molé, and General Cavaignac. The last was in favor of an early election, and strongly expressed his opinion that postponement a day longer than was necessary would be hazardous. It was finally fixed for the 10th of December.

October 31. The state of siege imposed on Paris when the Insurrection raged, was removed on the 19th of this month.

The removal was founded on the report of a committee in the Assembly charged with the whole subject. It stated that, on a full examination of all the considerations belonging to it, the committee had arrived at the conclusion that the siege might end without any fresh dangers to the Republic; and the Executive head of the Government believed that the public tranquillity might now be

maintained without it. The vote for raising it was unanimous.

The peaceable and well-disposed people in Paris were hardly sensible that they were living under a state of siege, although it was in operation four months within a few days. At first, all were uneasy, from a sort of habit, lest outbreaks should still happen, so common had they been since the Revolution. This feeling wore away as each successive week brought safety with it. Paris, in effect, was a great camp, though no camp was visible. Fifty thousand troops were collected within its limits, or were close by if wanted. Eleven presses were suppressed by military power while the siege lasted. The knowledge that the same power would be used against the turbulent and ill-disposed if they moved towards mischief, kept them quiet. The wise and prudent acquiesced in this course on the part of General Cavaignac, believing in his abilities and his virtue—a belief sanctioned by results. It made the Red Republicans his foes, and raised up other opposition to him among politicians.

When the numerous arrests were made of those who invaded the Assembly on the 15th of May, it was supposed that the ringleaders in that conspiracy would be brought to trial. This has not yet been done. After the Insurrection in June, the Assembly appointed a committee to inquire

into all the facts belonging to that second and far greater calamity, and to couple with this duty a new inquiry into all the circumstances that might shed light upon the outrage on the 15th of May.

This committee, clothed with ample powers for the fullest investigations, finished its work and presented its report to the Assembly in August. It is a remarkable document. I have looked into it from time to time, but shrink from the task of attempting the merest outline of its contents. It is very voluminous. Much of it is irrelevant. Still more of it is encumbered with unnecessary details and repetitions; but portions of it reach back to the causes and incidents of the Revolution in February. It lays bare the springs of that first shock in ways, then not so well known, that are startling. It shows how few were the real contrivers and instruments of the Revolution of February; and, with honorable exceptions (too few these also, unhappily), how selfish were their motives. These confessions came from the contrivers and instruments of the movement; a good portion of whom secured the personal advancement for which alone they seem to have rushed upon the work of overturning the Monarchy. I hasten away from the reflections which these disclosures, seeming to be authentic, are calculated to excite. I prefer to draw a veil over them until the Republic reaches further stages in its destination.

November 3. Dine at Mr. Ridgway's, and afterwards go to the reception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The company not very large; the talk chiefly about Vienna. One of the Diplomatic Corps said that Windischgraetz, the Imperialist General, is carrying all before him against the Insurgents, as he called them, who have lately had the city in their hands; but that Windischgraetz had stormed the barricades with his troops, and was master of the city, or soon would be.

I renew to M. Bastide the wish expressed to General Cavaignac for the appointment of M. Isnard as French consul at Boston; and use all the strong words I can in favor of retaining Count Montholon, son of General Montholon, as French consul at Richmond. What I say of the latter is founded on representations transmitted to me from Richmond of his merits, and the desire cherished by the citizens of that place, whose esteem he has largely won, that he should remain among them.

November 7. Go to General Cavaignac's reception this evening. I present Colonel McCall, of our army, and Mr. Ridgway; as on a former evening I had presented Lieut. Percival Drayton, of our navy, and Mr. Corbin.

November 13. This evening we are at a party

at the British Embassy. It is not large, but portions of the Diplomatic Corps are there. In conversing with a member of it, I hear fresh hints, like those I caught in these rooms a year ago, soon after my arrival, that Princess Lieven, though living in Paris ostensibly in private life, is looking to Russian interests, by the silent appointment of the Emperor Nicholas. This policy, and the fair influence sought in its aid, it was intimated, grew out of an old understanding between the Emperor and the ex Bourbon King, Charles X., that France was not to thwart the former in his objects upon Constantinople, and he not to thwart France in making the Mediterranean a sort of "French lake," after she had planted herself in Algeria by the success of French arms in the time of Charles. If this were so, it might lend plausibility, with some, to the alleged silent mission of this distinguished lady. It might with me, but for that part of the bargain which would assign to France the control of the Mediterranean [Gibraltar, Malta, and English naval power withal]. This seems to me so visionary that my incredulity is not yet overcome.

November 18. On Sunday, the 12th of this month, Paris was all alive, bad as the weather was, with the celebration of the Fête in honor of the new Constitution, all parts of which are completed. The preparations for it were upon a magnificent

scale, and it was supposed that it would much exceed in display, as I believe it has in cost, the one in honor of the Republic on the 21st of May. Immense flag-staffs, which floated tri-colored flags full of Republican inscriptions and emblems; a dome of great height, richly ornamented, with a cross as the pinnacle; a Statue of the Constitution, crowned with laurels, holding the Constitution in the left hand, and in the right hand a lance; a vast assemblage of the Clergy; members of the National Assembly, and all other officials; troops in countless number; cannon roaring at intervals—all this and more was to be seen in Place Concorde. The day was raw and cold. Snow fell in large flakes, whitening everything. When it stopped, sleet came on, then a little more snow—so that the bad weather hardly ceased. All the arrangements were for fine weather; but sheds, open all round, roofed over, and elevated on flooring, were reared up with French quickness at fêtes as in war, when the day broke with appearances of a storm. All was to begin at half-past eight in the morning. On the board floors canopied over, the Diplomatic Corps, where I was, and all other public functionaries, found partial shelter. The President of the National Assembly read aloud the whole Constitution for such as could hear it. General Cavaignac was there in full uniform, and wore a badge of distinction won by his gallantry in Algeria. The

presence of Prince Louis Napoleon was not observed among the members of Assembly. The weather was unfavorable for enthusiasm. Cries of Vive la République were few, or from those so far off that I could not hear them, coming, it may be, from streets in the vicinity of Place Concorde.

I did not hear a word of the Constitution as read out; but all have seen by the papers that it is much the same as contained in the draft reported by the committee on the 19th of June, as summed up in these notes the day following. The single Legislative Chamber, single Executive, and most of the other elementary provisions remain as then framed, or with modifications unessential. The abstract declarations in the beginning are varied.

As an accompaniment to the celebration, the following document was addressed by the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects of all the departments in France:—

That, the French Republic being now definitively constituted, the National Assembly had decided that the Constitution should be promulgated in every commune by being read by the Mayor to the inhabitants assembled; that the Constitution was placed under the invocation of God, and its promulgation was to be a political and religious ceremony; that prayers were to precede or follow the reading of it by the civil Magistrate, as the Bishop or other clergy might prescribe; that as this great

national Fête ought to leave a souvenir among the unfortunate, the Assembly had appropriated four hundred thousand francs, which were to be equitably distributed throughout the departments in cases only of the most poignant misery.

Finally, the prefect of each department was to cause the inhabitants to understand the importance and solemnity of this act of a great People, who, after eight months of uncertainty and disquiet, had placed themselves under the empire of a strong and durable Constitution and entered definitively upon the path of free and regular governments.

And may it prove so. But, as a looker-on since February, I cannot, with all the wishes I then had, and desire still to cherish, for the success of the Republic,—I cannot, now that its new Constitution comes forth, with but one Chamber, and other anomalies to an American, easily yield my assent to any encouraging prospects of its durability.

November 28. Go to General Cavaignac's reception; an immense crowd, consisting almost exclusively of military officers; nothing comparable to it that I have before seen at any reception in Paris for numbers. It was caused by the General's speech in defence of his course in putting down the Insurrection. His friends and adherents came in multitudes to offer their congratulations. His adversaries brought charges against him of causing blood

to flow unnecessarily at the barricades, by his acts and by his omissions. An angry debate followed in the sitting of the 25th, and the Assembly sustained his course by a triumphant vote. Hence the crowd this evening. His rooms were filled to overflowing, so that hundreds had to remain in the garden. In making my way into the rooms to reach General Cavaignac, I was aided by my kind friends the Lafayettes, father and son, who led me along circuitous paths in the garden. The debate in the Assembly and crowd this evening are the better explained by the near approach of the election for President, General Cavaignac being prominent as a candidate.

November 30. At length I am to record the manifesto of Prince Louis Napoleon. It is out in full. On the eve, he says, of an election for the first Magistrate of the Republic, his name had presented itself as a symbol of order and security. He knew that this testimony of confidence was more to the name he bore than to himself, who had yet done nothing for his country. He was not ambitious of subversive theories: reared in free countries, and in the school of misfortune, he would be faithful to the duties which the suffrages of his fellow-citizens and the will of the Assembly might impose on him. If elected President, he would shrink from no danger or sacrifice to defend society,

so audaciously attacked. He would devote himself to the strengthening of a Republic, prudent in its laws, honest in its intentions, and great in its acts. He should consider it a point of honor to leave to his successor, at the end of four years, the government strengthened, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished. He would strive to reconcile parties and calm hatreds. Real reforms would be best effected by economy, without disorganizing the public services; by a diminution of the most burdensome taxes; by encouraging enterprises which would develop the riches of agriculture, and give work to unemployed hands; by imparting to the laws relating to industry, the meliorations which tend to benefit the poor without injuring the rich; by restricting the number of places which depend on the Government, which often make a free people a nation of place-hunters; and by avoiding the fatal tendency which leads the state to do what private individuals could do as well or better; and by preserving the press from its two excesses, arbitrariness and license. These are points in his manifesto which touch upon home concerns.

War, he says, would be no relief to the evils of France. Peace would therefore be his dearest of desires. France in her first Revolution was warlike, because she was forced to be so. To invasion she replied by conquest. Not being attacked now, she could devote her resources to pacific improvements.

A great nation should be silent, or never speak in vain. To think of national dignity, was to think of the army, whose patriotism, so noble and disinterested, had often been disregarded. Whilst the laws which gave force to military organization should be maintained, the burden of conscription should be lightened. The present and the future not only of the officers, but sub-officers and soldiers, ought to be watched over, and an assured existence prepared for the men who have long served under the flag. In fine, when at the head of the French people, an infallible means of doing good, was to resolve to do it.

This is the substance of what he says. Whatever the result of the election, he promises to bow to the will of the people, and unite in all ends for promoting the material and moral benefit of the country. The manifesto is addressed to his fellow-citizens, is in all the papers, and signed Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

December 21. The election for the first President of the Republic opened on Sunday, the 10th of this month, the day fixed by the Assembly, and closed throughout all France on the day following. Seven millions, three hundred and twenty-four thousand, six hundred and eighty-two votes were given, and were distributed as follows:—For Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, 5,434,426. For General

Cavaignac, 1,448,107. For M. Ledru Rollin, 370,119. For M. Raspail, 36,920. For M. Lamartine, 17,910. For General Changarnier, 4,790. Lost votes 12,640.

The result was known some days ago; but not the accurate returns. The official announcement of the result in the National Assembly yesterday, caused a very full attendance of the members, and all others who could gain admittance within the Chamber.

The committee appointed to examine the returns entered the Chamber, attended by a number of the Representatives, among whom was General Cavaignac.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte entered, and took his seat next to Odillon Barrot on one of the benches.

Waldeck-Rousseau, reporter of the committee, then ascended the tribune and read the report, deep silence prevailing. It stated that the nation had deposited in the electoral urn the testimony of its confidence; it had pointed out the citizen to whom it wished to confide the destinies of the French Republic; Europe had been an attentive observer of the movement of a nation rising in the calmness of its strength, and showing itself worthy of the liberty it enjoyed; it had pointed out the object of its choice, not as the will of a few, but in a great and patriotic designation as standing for the will of the whole.

He then read out the votes as stated above, and

declared the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to be chosen President of the French people; the Executive power was to go into his hands; the Representatives of the people would come, it was hoped, with patriotic eagerness, to offer to his Government the strength they could impart to it; and may God protect France.

These were the words with which the reporter concluded. I do not insert the report in full, but the extracts given mark its character.

General Cavaignac rose, and stated that he had just received the collective resignation of the late Ministers; and that he had also to remit into the hands of the Assembly the office of President of the Council which had been intrusted to him. The Assembly would better comprehend, than he could express, all the gratitude he felt for the great kindness shown to him while he exercised the Executive power. He sat down amidst loud cheering from the Chamber.

The President of the Assembly, M. Marrast, then put the report of the committee to the vote. The whole Assembly (with the exception of five members) stood up in its favor.

The President hereupon addressed the Assembly thus:—Whereas, the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has fulfilled the conditions of Article 4 of the Constitution, as well as those prescribed by Articles 47 and 48; and whereas, in the ballot which has

taken place, he has obtained the absolute majority of votes, the National Assembly does hereby proclaim him President of the French Republic from the present time to the second Sunday in May, 1852: I therefore call on the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to ascend the tribune, and take the required oath.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte accordingly came forward, ascended the tribune, and took the oath in the words following:—"BEFORE GOD, AND IN THE PRESENCE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE, REPRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, I SWEAR TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE REPUBLIC, DEMOCRATIC, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE; AND TO FULFIL ALL THE DUTIES WHICH THE CONSTITUTION IMPOSES ON ME."

The President of the Assembly then said:—The Assembly, formally acknowledging that the President of the Republic has taken the oath required, orders that solemn mention of the fact shall be made in the procès-verbal of the sitting, and that notice of the same shall be posted up in all the communes of the Republic.

Cries of Vive la Républiqûe arose.

The President of the Republic then delivered an address, in these words:—"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES: The suffrages of the nation, and the oath I have just taken, trace out for me my future conduct. I shall follow it as a man of honor. I wish, like you, to place society on its true basis;

to strengthen democratic institutions, and to alleviate the miseries of that generous and intelligent people which has just given me such a striking proof of its confidence. Animated by a sincere spirit of conciliation, I have called round me capable and patriotic men, who, in spite of the diversity of their political origin, are ready to devote themselves with me to the happiness of the nation. A Government coming into power owes a debt of thanks to its predecessors when the deposit of its authority is handed over to it intact; and in particular I owe it to the honorable General Cavaignac to say that his conduct is worthy of the generosity of his character. It will not be the smallest title of his glory. The Government and myself are animated with a sincere love of the country. Let me hope, citizen Representatives, that your co-operation will be given to me, and that with it we may found a Government just and firm, which, without being either reactionary or Eutopian, will secure the future welfare of the Republic; and, if we cannot do great things, we may at least, by our loyal intentions and conduct, secure the welfare and happiness of the people by whom we have been chosen."

This address closed the ceremony, and was received with loud cheers.

The President of the Republic then left the tribune, and, in going down the centre of the

Chamber, went to the seat of General Cavaignac and shook him warmly by the hand. This act was greeted by the Assembly in the heartiest manner, by the clapping of hands.

The sitting was then suspended for a short time.

The President of the Assembly, on resuming the chair, stated that, by a communication just made to him by the President of the Republic, M. Odillon Barrot had been charged to compose a new Ministry, and that as soon as it was formed, the fact would be communicated to the Assembly by a message.

The President of the Republic then left the Assembly, accompanied by Odillon Barrot and other Representatives; after which the Chamber rose, many of the members hastening out before the adjournment was announced from the chair.

December 29. The ministry of the President is composed of the following names: Odillon Barrot, Minister of Justice, and President of the Council, in the absence of the President of the Republic; Drouyn de l'Huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Leon Faucher, Minister of the Interior; General Rulhières, Minister of War; M. de Tracy, Minister of Marine and Colonies; M. Falloux, Minister of Public Instruction and Worship; M. Lacrosse, Minister of Public Works; M. Buffet, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; M. Hippolyte Passy, Minister of Finance. Some resignations followed the first selec-

tions; but these are the present members of the Ministry.

It is believed that Drouyn de l'Huys, M. de Tracy, and M. de Falloux, voted for General Cavaignac. Their call to the new Cabinet is regarded as a generous and graceful act.

All the Ministers are persons known. I will say of the one to be the organ of intercourse with other nations, that my previous knowledge of him, as far as it has extended, has given me the most favorable impressions of his highly eminent qualities and accomplishments.

The election of Louis Napoleon has not, perhaps, been as unexpected to observers on the spot, as to those beyond the limits of France. When an amendment was proposed pending the discussion of the Constitution, for changing the part which provided for the election of President by the direct vote of the people, so as to give the National Assembly the power of electing him, and that amendment was rejected, it was considered the forerunner of the result now witnessed; though so overwhelming a vote for the successful candidate was hardly anticipated by anybody. All perceive that it clothes him with great power to do good. General Cavaignac lost ground with the Socialists and Red Republicans, by the part he acted in the Insurrection and during the siege; for, although their numbers were not

great throughout France, their activity was great, and many of them had very sharp intellects, and worked with unbounded zeal towards their objects. Moreover, the belief which more especially began to prevail after the vote on the above amendment, which was strong for rejecting it, that Louis Napoleon would be chosen, added daily to his strength; of which, doubtless, his name was at the root.

1849.

January 1. The President of the Republic has taken as his residence the Palais Elysée Bourbon.

By an official communication to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, they were informed that he would receive them this morning. As the new Chief Magistrate of France under a constitution to commence its operation under his executive auspices, the entire Diplomatic Corps would naturally desire to offer their compliments and congratulations on the proof he had received of his country's confidence; and it may be supposed it would be desirable on his part to have an early opportunity of making their acquaintance. Accordingly, the corps went, and were severally presented to him in due form. Most of them were personally unknown to him. This was my case. Our presentations were made by his Minister of Foreign Affairs. He spoke a few words to me, as to all, the occasion not leading to much conversation with any. I had seen him before;

but only in the Assembly from the Diplomatic box, and imperfectly. In stature below rather, than above the medium height, yet robust; a subdued carriage; a thoughtful countenance; a blue eye, in repose rather than vivid, and darker in complexion than the French generally: this was his appearance to me to-day.

The Palais Elysée Bourbon was a favorite residence of the Emperor Napoleon. He went there as soon as he reached Paris, after his final defeat at Waterloo, himself the first to bring the news of it. Some accounts say that such was his fatigue from his rapid flight that he could not at first articulate, but threw himself on a bed in a state near to exhaustion; yet speaking somewhat incoherently of the necessity of a dictatorship in his favor.

And who were in that Palace now? In looking round, strange reminiscences obtruded themselves. You saw the representatives of Austria, of Prussia, of Sardinia, of Bavaria, of Saxony, of Wirtemberg, and of Switzerland; of Spain, the Italian States, and Portugal; of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium; of German states and principalities, hardly to be counted up, whose kingdoms he had overrun; whose territories he had invaded and despoiled; the blood of whose subjects had been made to moisten half Europe during his wars of self-aggrandizement, which grasped at all Europe; his cannon seating his own family, some against their will and

remonstrances, on the thrones he overturned. All these kingdoms and states and principalities—I can hardly have named too many, when even the little free Hanse towns did not escape—were forced to yield to him; were doomed to see their people mustered at the roll of his drum, to help him fight his battles against their interests and their duties. Some were humiliated past description; all sorely aggrieved, under pretexts which ambition, with armies at its back, is never at a loss in alleging, and knows how to smooth over and gild. Now, I saw the representatives of them all coming together to offer their congratulations to the nephew of that deposed conqueror; the nephew himself an exile less than a year ago, and previously a prisoner twice condemned, and apparently left without hope. What a sight! Not often has the wheel of Fortune turned so marvellously. I did not chance to see the Minister of Russia in this representation of crowned heads and other sovereignties of Europe assembled in honor of the nephew. Perhaps he was away for reasons I was not acquainted with; or my eye may have missed him, so many were there.

The Ambassador of England could not be missed. His presence was too memorable in the history it recalls, ever to be forgotten. He was the sole person in the group, as far as Europe was concerned, whose nation never bent the knee to Napoleon; the only one who from the beginning

looked him steadfastly in the face undismayed, and saw through him under his mask; whose Parliament, whose unfettered press, spoke the truth out to nations trumpet-tongued, more resounding than his war bugles on their frontiers, or in their capitals; who shattered his marine to pieces, whenever it ventured out of port, by her naval thunders; drove him from the seas maddened and helpless, except in his cherished, yet ever fruitless vengeance, against the Power that thwarted his plans of dominion, and held cheap his threats of invasion, in the face of his boastful column at Boulogne,—a Power that at one time fought against him single-handed, Russia in turn having given way, and fought with only the more vigor; who fought him to the last, and by her invincible resolution and perseverance, encouraged and aided others in going on with the fight, until, at length, Europe was roused to indignation under his stupendous wrongs; and down he came, amidst peans of universal joy, from the height gained by his remorseless sword—France, who had been mingling groans with his glory, joining largely in her shouts of gratitude at the general deliverance.

There was one other person in that group whose country never was in fear of him, but protested against his outrages from first to last,—the Minister of the United States. He could readily contribute his congratulations where the object of them, reared,

as he said, in the school of misfortune, had risen on the free and immense vote of the tenth of December; and who declared that peace was the dearest of his desires, and that he felt bound in honor to deliver over the government to his successor at the end of four years with the public liberty intact.

January 15. Go to the night reception of the Prince President at the Palace Elysée Bourbon. The Ministers of State were there, the Diplomatic Corps, and many others connected with the new Government.

Go afterwards to a ball given by the Prefect of the Seine, at the Hotel de Ville. Large as that building is, the company filled it. To see its spacious rooms given up to music and dancing, and the whole building blazing with light and joyous with festivity, was truly a beneficent change from its having been so long a great centre of revolutionary alarms and fights.

January 23. Dine at the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Drouyn de l'Huys. It was a very large dinner, the first under the new régime. We had a great assemblage of the highest official persons: the Prince President heading the list; the Cabinet Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, the President of the National Assembly, and others of distinguished name, though

now holding no station, amongst whom were M. Lamartine and Count Molé. The chair assigned to me was next to the President of the Assembly; and next to him sat the President of the Republic.

January 24. This evening the Diplomatic Corps dine at my house, with their ladies, and our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway.

Our corps belongs essentially to the existing government; and it must be confessed that we have had our embarrassments on this head in Paris. We had favorable allusions at table now and then to the new Prince President, as derived from the personal intercourse we have so far had with him. The corps, for the most part, were for General Cavaignac during the canvass, more or less openly. I took no part, continuing to think that we, as a body or individually, have nothing to do with party contests here, though we may write as we think fit to our own Governments about French affairs.

January 28. Go this evening to the reception of Odillon Barrot, Minister of Justice and head of the Ministry. The President of the Republic was there, the members of his Cabinet, the Diplomatic Corps, and a very large company of ladies and gentlemen.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs seeks conversa-

tion with me as to what we do in cases where our President and Congress disagree. I tell him that when Congress does not act on recommendations of the President, either by remaining passive under them, or debating them without result, nothing comes of the recommendation. It falls to the ground for the time being; but may be, and often is, renewed at another session.

On the other hand, if both Houses of Congress pass a bill, either with or without a recommendation from the President, the bill not becoming a law until the President concurs in it, he may, if disapproving it, return it to the house in which it originated, with his objections. If that house passes the bill by a vote of two-thirds of its members, and the other house does the same, it becomes a law, notwithstanding the objections of the President. I add, that it rarely occurs in our practice that the President's veto is overcome by the requisite majority in both houses.

The Minister asks if I would object to furnishing him with a written memorandum of this part of our system and its operation. He thinks the President of the Republic would like to see it. I tell him I will readily do so.

January 29. Enclose the Minister of Foreign Affairs, informally, a copy of the seventh section of the first article of our Constitution, which relates

to the veto of the President, adding the views I had expressed to him of its practical operation with us.

February 4. I give a smaller diplomatic dinner to-day, that I may have Mr. Bancroft's company, now here for a few days from London. Lord Howden is one of my guests, an accomplished English diplomatist at present in Paris, who gives me the first information of Sir Henry Bulwer's appointment as British Minister to the United States. I mention the fact to my Government, in case it may not yet have been known at Washington. We go this evening to the reception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I present Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway to the Minister, and to Madame Drouyn de l'Huys, and have conversation with the Spanish Ambassador on the appointment of Sir Henry Bulwer as Minister to the United States.

February 12. Dine with General Sir Phineas Riall, of the British army, at present residing here with Lady Riall, in Rue St. Florentine.

During our war of 1812 with England, General Riall was taken prisoner by our troops in one of the battles on the Canadian lines, and remained in the United States on parole until duly exchanged. This dinner was given to me in remembrance of the attentions and good treatment he received from my countrymen while among them on his parole.

There were sixteen or eighteen at table, gentlemen and ladies, all English—some of the army. Certainly no merit could be claimed in treating well a gallant officer who had fallen into our hands. But it was part of a generous mind to remember it. I learned, not from himself, but others, that my predecessors in the mission to France had in like manner been recipients of his hospitality.

I close the note of my second English dinner in Paris, with the remark, that, remembering what passed at the English Embassy, about taking wine with the company, I ventured to act upon it at this agreeable dinner at the hospitable table of the distinguished and gallant general.

February 16. We are at a grand ball to-night at the Palais Elysée. Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway are of our party, and Lady Augusta Bruce. Eminent persons were there—some of the Bonapartes; the Ministers of State; the Diplomatic Corps, and distinguished foreigners. The Prince President opens the ball by dancing with his relative, the Princess Matilde Demiedoff. It was not easy to arrive or get away, owing to the crowd of carriages in the court-yard. The President's servants wore the green and gold livery of the Emperor. The President told me, in the course of the evening, that the copy I had furnished of the part of our Constitu-

tion relating to the Executive veto, was very acceptable.

February 27. The anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic was celebrated on the 24th of this month. The religious part of the ceremonial was in the church of the Madeleine.

The President of the Republic and the President of the National Assembly each moved off for the church, the former from the Palais Elysée, the latter from the Legislative Chamber, at a signal gun; so that each might arrive at the church and go in at the same time. I heard that the President of the Assembly determined to pursue this course, lest the President of the Republic should have intended to enter first, thinking it his duty to stand up for the dignity of the Assembly.

There has been a conflict of authority between the Executive and the Chamber, from which the latter came out disadvantageously. This may the more have determined the President of the Chamber not to yield precedence in going into the church. The conflict was this. The President of the Republic and his Ministers urged upon the Chamber several measures of policy which they desired to see adopted. The Chamber refused to adopt them, leaving the Ministers in a minority on more than one occasion. One of the measures urged was no less important than that of dissolving the As-

sembly; the Ministers alleging that its great function was fulfilled in the formation of the Constitution, and that it was proper to have a new Assembly chosen in the manner definitively settled by the Constitution. The Chamber voted otherwise, not choosing to annihilate itself. The Ministers persisted. So did the Chamber. This brought on a constitutional conflict, the first which has arisen between the two authorities. The Chamber said the Ministers ought to resign under their defeats. The Ministers answered no. The President of the Republic represents the popular will as much as the Assembly, and embodies a more recent expression of it. The Ministers kept their places, the President refusing to dismiss them. The Assembly have since shown a more acquiescing spirit; and so things stand.

I wrote an account of this conflict to my Government on the 20th of this month, venturing to express the opinion that the Executive had the best of the argument; but that we might read in this first clash the future dangers to France under an elective and representative government with but a single Legislative Chamber.

March 13. Mr. Wikoff, of Philadelphia, called on me a few days ago, to request that I would present him to the Prince President. What need of this, I ask? you have known the President longer than I

have. I had read the account of the visit he paid the latter at Ham when he was a State prisoner, and remembered the predictions it contained. He replied, that, having recently come to Paris, he would prefer, as a stranger and an American, to be reintroduced by the Minister of his country. I replied, that, although I had not been the first to suggest this, I thought he judged rightly. Accordingly, at the reception at the Palais Elysée, this evening, I presented him. In doing it, I had to watch the proper moment. The rooms were full. Others were being presented by the Foreign Ministers; and much of that ceremony was otherwise going on. I advanced nearer and nearer to where the Prince President stood, Mr. Wikoff keeping close to me. At length his turn came, and I was on the eve of doing my part, when the President, seeing who was with me, and directing his eye towards him, exclaimed, before I spoke, and in a tone of cordial recognition, Mr. Wikoff! It thus became unnecessary for me to mention his name first. He then took the latter by the hand and greeted him warmly. Mr. Wikoff bore himself becomingly under a recognition so complimentary, the incident having drawn attention from all near enough to witness it.

March 26. We go to an invited party at the Prince President's. It is not large, and a con-

cert. The most celebrated performers and singers in Paris make up the music. So says to me a member of the Diplomatic Corps present.

The same gentleman, who has been long here and can discriminate people, whispers to me that among the ladies of the company he does not perceive a single one belonging to a Republican family. All were of the old régime; Legitimists, Orleanists, or Bonapartes. Thiers and Count Molé were there. They might be seen in a room by themselves, talking together.

April 12. At a reception at the Palace Elysée this evening, I presented to the Prince President Mr. and Mrs. William R. Palmer, of Philadelphia. Also Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Stockton, of Washington, Mr. Stockton being of the U. S. Navy.

After presenting Mrs. Palmer, she shows me a miniature likeness of General Taylor, the newly elected President of the United States, executed on satin. I say to her that, with her permission, I will give it to the Prince President, as the likeness of a brave soldier. She consents; and I tell her that in offering it to his acceptance I shall represent myself as her ambassador, commissioned by herself. I fulfil the honorable commission I am charged with. The Prince President receives the miniature, and most courteously requests me to thank the fair donor; of whom he speaks very flatteringly.

April 25. I dined yesterday with my daughters, at the Palais de l'Elysée Bourbon. The dinner was not a large one. The Diplomatic Corps were not there. Some of the President's friends and portions of his household formed the company. Colonel Edgar Ney, the name on which Marshal Ney has shed such high military renown; General Fabvier, and that devoted friend of the President throughout his adversity at Ham and elsewhere, Doctor Conneau,—these were present; with some of his own family, and others belonging to his establishment.

In receiving his guests, the Prince President gave his hand to all. The topics were familiar. He was courteously attentive to his company, and all the appearances of the dinner were in unison with the palatial establishment. The servants, as they moved about the table in the old green livery, seemed to call up the shade of Napoleon, whose sword won the palace we were in; whose saloons, brilliant at one period under the glare cast upon everything by his conquests, beheld also the handwriting on their walls.

June 8. We are at the Swedish Minister's tonight, invited with the Diplomatic Corps and others, to hear Jenny Lind sing. We understood she had declined singing on the stage in Paris, or elsewhere, publicly; but the Minister of her country, and his amiable consort, the Countess de Lowenhielm, in-

duced her to come to their domicil and sing for the gratification of themselves and their friends invited to hear her. It was a treat to listen to this highly-gifted songstress under such circumstances.

June 16. An Insurrection has been attempted this week. The immediate cause of it was an alleged violation of the Constitution, in sending a French Army to Rome to put down the cause of Italian liberty. Hatred of democracy, say the Mountain party, which the Government scarcely conceals on the banks of the Seine, breaks out openly on the banks of the Tiber. The Government reply that the portion of the French Army at Rome under General Oudinot was sent there to protect Italian liberty against its enemies the ultras. Here is presented a disputed point. General Cavaignac, an avowed and uniform Republican, but reflecting and prudent withal, had himself sent troops to Rome, when Executive head of the Government, with the same object. The Mountain party raised an issue on this point, and preferred charges of impeachment in the Assembly against the Ministers, quoting the articles of the Constitution asserted to have been violated. The Ministers were sustained by a large vote, their *majority* being 350. The vote of the Mountain party was 195. Encouraged rather than daunted, the party asserted more strenuously that the Constitution was broken,

and, by various signs and manifestoes, announced their intention of appealing to a battle in the streets against the Government. They raised imperfect barricades, and took steps for constructing more. They also met at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, to deliberate on further measures of resistance.

The President and his Ministers were awake to their proceedings. Immediately Paris was put in a state of siege—and, as it so turned out, by about the same majority in the Assembly which had rejected the charges of impeachment against the Ministers. The military power of the Government was drawn upon, and so energetically used by General Changarnier, now commander of the troops and National Guards of Paris, that the barricades were destroyed, the meeting at the "Conservatoire" broken up, and a "demonstration" of twenty thousand people, collected and moving in column in the region of the Church of the Madeleine, effectually dispersed by a few battalions of the troops and cavalry, without a battle, and with little or no bloodshed. Entire quiet was restored in a few hours.

By this prompt success, and his own proclamation to the people on the occasion, the Prince President appears to have gained with the conservative *Republicans*, in and out of the Assembly. General Cavaignac voted with them, and spoke briefly and

well. So did Thiers; and the National Guard also went with the Government. The feeling appears to be general in society that, whatever the merits of the question on this Italian policy pursued by the Government, a resort to force by the defeated party in the Chamber was, under all circumstances, wholly unjustifiable.

September 7. Returned last night, with my daughters, from a visit of three days to our friends the Lafayettes, at La Grange, department of Seine-and-Marne.

While away, we were at Fontainbleau. We visited its Palace, saw all its curiosities, and the gardens. We also walked through parts of the forest close by, so well known to Royalty in French history. In seeking out some of the majestic old oaks and other curiosities of the forest, we might have been lost among its intersecting roads and paths, but for a peasant guide we had, who also piloted us to a limpid rivulet among rocks, where we were refreshed with cool water from a shaded spring.

Nothing could exceed the friendliness of our welcome at La Grange. The very name of that place is dear to Americans. We associate it with Mount Vernon, the home of Washington; to whom General Lafayette seemed as a son; his youthful

and chivalrous sword having first been drawn in our Revolutionary War under the auspices of our great chief. The present head of the family is Mr. George Lafayette, only son of the General, whose name has been more than once mentioned in these notes, and always in the affectionate spirit I ever desire to cherish towards himself and that family. His consort, the venerated Madame Lafayette, still lives as the mistress at La Grange. The sons and daughters and daughter-in-law under the roof, while we were there, give to the guests of that revered home the beau ideal of ancient gentry in retirement, dispensing hospitality in ways as cordial as refined. The building is of the fifteenth century, castellated in appearance, standing amidst the shade of old trees, and with ivy on its walls. Their carriage was in waiting for us at the last station; and when we arrived at the house, in the evening of a fine autumnal day, the head of the family, and other members of it, were already at the portal, and received us, as we alighted, with a kindly warmth and grace we can never forget. The attentions we had during our whole stay were in harmony with our first reception; and we took our leave of their hospitable mansion and family circle never to think of our visit but with pleasurable and grateful recollections.

1849.

October 8. My mission having come to a close, and now desiring to embark on my return voyage by way of England before winter sets in, I wait on M. de Tocqueville, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, to tell him so. He had previously furnished me with friendly passports, and attended to every thing else to be done for a returning Minister, on learning from me that my successor had arrived. He had also, at my request, arranged it with the President of the Republic, that my audience of leave should take place to-day at three o'clock, at the Palais Elysée. I went there in my carriage at that hour.

In delivering my letter of recall, I said, in the words of the Secretary of State, that the President desired to see the relations between the United States and France placed on the footing best calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the most amicable intercourse between the two countries. The President of the Republic reciprocated these sentiments very cordially; which terminated the official part of the ceremony.

The Secretary's last dispatch to me stated that the President (General Taylor) had directed him to say that he was not uninformed of my services as Minister to France.

As I finally took my leave of the Prince Presi-

dent, he used obliging expressions in reference to my approaching departure, as M. de Tocqueville had previously done. He requested I would present his compliments to my daughters, with his regrets that our early departure would prevent his seeing us as often as he would otherwise have done.

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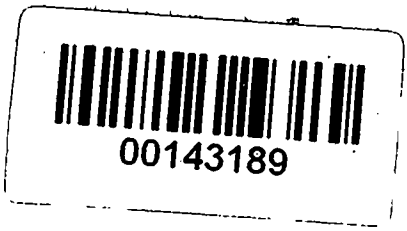
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